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THE JERUSALEM POST

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Moscow leaked list of 34 ex-Nazis in Britain

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
LONDON. — A list of 34 alleged Nazi war criminals who found refuge here after the war, was passed to Britain by high-ranking Soviet government officials, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

The list, received by journalists at Scottish Television, included details of men allegedly responsible for the murder of "hundreds of British prisoners of war in ordinary POW camps."

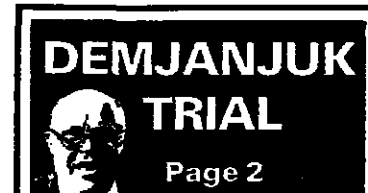
Sources in London told *The Post* yesterday that they believed the Soviets had passed on the details in an effort to embarrass the British

government over its human rights record in the weeks before Premier Thatcher's scheduled visit to Moscow.

"Knowing that Thatcher is likely to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry and human rights in general in the Soviet Union, the Russians are trying to show that Britain's record is by no means perfect either," one source said.

The 34 names are believed to come from a huge Soviet archive of documentary evidence concerning the Holocaust and other Nazi atrocities. The 34 names and evidence such as SS service records were compiled into a dossier by Scottish TV,

and some of its details were revealed in a programme broadcast in Scotland last night.



DEM JANJUK TRIAL
Page 2

MP Greville Janner, a former war crimes investigator and a member of the All-Party Nazi War Crimes Committee, told *The Post* last night

that allegations of the murder of British POWs were entirely consistent with known facts.

"The Germans murdered numerous British POWs, usually when they were caught trying to escape. I'm not sure, though, that we can talk about hundreds. They would round up the attempted escapees and shoot them," he said.

A copy of the dossier, which contains "extremely detailed records, including SS documents and photographs of the 34," was being sent by Scottish TV to the director of public prosecutions (DPP) in England and the Crown Office in Scotland.

According to Bob Tomlinson, who worked on the programme screened last night, "these 34 people came to Britain at the tail end of World War II and found refuge here. They are of Lithuanian and Ukrainian origin, and our initial research has confirmed that a number of them are still alive and well here."

Scottish TV has not conducted an exhaustive investigation of the 34, preferring to leave that to the DPP. "We're bringing these documents to the attention of the government in the hope that they will act on them," said a Scottish TV spokesman.

Tomlinson stressed that none of the 34 alleged war criminals named

Tower Report finds Israel 'actively encouraged' U.S.

Reagan was 'detached from reality' in Iran arms scandal

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — The long-awaited Tower Commission report, which was released yesterday, said that President Reagan was ill-informed and detached from reality in the Iran arms deal and was badly served by his most senior advisers. The 282-page report by a three-member panel concluded that Reagan was motivated by his deep concern for American hostages held in Lebanon.

The report said that, at virtually every stage, Israel actively encouraged the U.S. to get involved in the Iran arms affair, but the Reagan administration still "must bear responsibility for the consequences."

The report also said that Reagan could not remember whether he had approved the first Israeli shipment of U.S.-made TOW anti-tank missiles to Iran in the summer of 1985.

In a letter to the Tower board, the president wrote: "In trying to recall events that happened 18 months ago, I'm afraid that I let myself be influenced by others' recollections, not my own...I have no personal notes or records to help my recollection on this matter. The only honest answer is to state that try as I might, I cannot recall anything whatsoever about whether I approved an Israeli sale in advance or whether I approved replenishment of Israeli stocks around August of 1985."

The report said that Reagan was emotionally "driven" into the affair by his desire to win the release of American hostages in Lebanon. "It was this intense compassion for the hostages that appeared to motivate his steadfast support for the Iran initiative, even in the face of opposition from his secretaries of state and defence," the report said.

Former Republican senator John Tower of Texas chaired the presidential panel that investigated the working of the National Security Council during the Iran arms/Contra funding affair. Joining him were former secretary of state Edmund Muskie and former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft.

At a news conference yesterday,



Former Senator John Tower. (UPI)

they were very critical of the president and most other senior cabinet officers, including Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, and former national security advisers Robert McFarlane and John Poindexter.

The report repeated several allegations made by the Senate Intelligence Committee report of last month that the Israeli role in the affair was considerably more active than publicly acknowledged by Israeli leaders.

The report also repeated earlier assertions by dismissed National

Likud ministers:

Fate of coalition hangs on Cairo talks

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The immediate fate of the national unity government hinges on the outcome of Foreign Minister Peres's talks with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. This was the consensus of Likud ministers who met yesterday at the home of Prime Minister Shamir.

But a source close to Shamir said that the general estimation was that Peres, who returns home today, "will not receive any proposals that will cause him to deviate from the government's guidelines."

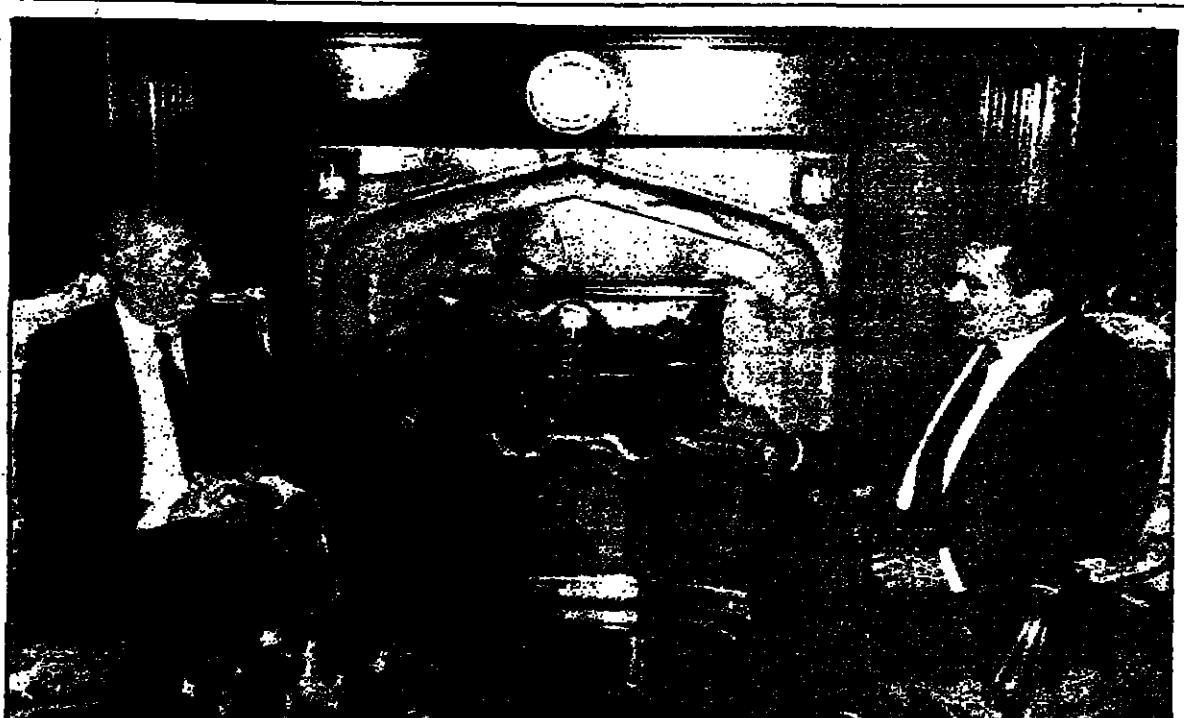
Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, who has been unusually reticent about the Labour-Likud row, did not speak at the Likud ministers' meeting.

Shamir reported to the ministers on his trip to the U.S. The ministers said that Washington should be persuaded to return to the principle of direct negotiations.

The Prime Minister's Office said last night that it had not received any report from Cairo on the Peres-Mubarak talks.

Peres and Shamir are scheduled to meet today or sometime before Sunday's cabinet meeting to discuss Peres's trip.

Striking a middle ground between Shamir and Peres, Defence Minister Rabin yesterday told Arabic Televi-



Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in conversation with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo yesterday. (AFP)

Peres and Mubarak agree:

Participants in peace conference must be acceptable to all sides

By BENNY MORRIS
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
CAIRO. — Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak yesterday agreed here that all the participants in the prospective Middle East peace conference must be acceptable and agreed to by the parties concerned, including Israel and Egypt.

In a statement to reporters after his two-and-a-half hours of talks in the Kabe Palace with Mubarak,

Peres said that "it is clear that the Palestinian representation must be acceptable to all the parties concerned. The (identity of) the participants must be agreed upon, including (of) the Palestinians."

Saying that this was his most friendly, tensionless visit to Egypt, Peres described it as "an act of friendship on both sides."

Mubarak yesterday launched the meeting, Peres said, by "making a small gesture — announcing the intro-

duction of direct telephone dialling between the two countries from tomorrow morning."

Peres said that apart from the progress on the issue of participation and representation at the conference — which means that Israel, Egypt and Jordan will each have agreed veto powers with regard to Soviet and PLO participation — the two leaders had "agreed to cooperation in other

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Strikers won't let volunteers into wards

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter
Striking government hospital workers angry over enforcement orders issued against 40 members of the national council of their union, said last night that they would not allow volunteers into the wards or permit clean laundry to be distributed.

The Jerusalem District Labour Court issued the enforcement order to the 40 members of the administrative and maintenance workers union requiring that they personally return to work, or pay heavy fines. The 40 said that they would honour the order, but that the rest of the workers would intensify the strike.

Earlier last night, Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino appealed to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to persuade the Treasury to compromise with the striking government hospital workers and include advance payments with their March salaries.

The proposal to grant advance payments on part of the salary concessions the workers expect to win was first raised by the Histadrut trade union chief Haim Haberfeld yesterday. But the Treasury official in charge of wage accords, Hillel Duda, turned it down.

Shamir promised the health minister an answer as soon as he considered the problem.

The Health Ministry yesterday refused to provide the State Attorney's Office with a list of the members of the union's national council. Using private investigators and other sources, the office managed to compile a list and send summonses to the leaders.

The Treasury's decision to dock the strikers for eight days' pay for the time they did not work in February infuriated the Health Ministry. One source in the ministry said the Treasury was picking on the weakest elements in the hospital system, and docking them for 37 per cent of their monthly wages, which would send them home with only some NIS 300 net.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

US Health Expert to Negotiate Easing of Hospital Crisis

Dr. Sidney Greenwald, an internationally recognized health care expert and consultant, has arrived to negotiate an easing of Netanya's health care crisis, brought on by the withdrawal without explanation of a previously issued licence to add 68 beds to Laniado Hospital's new medical centre. Kiryat Sanz Laniado Hospital is the only hospital in Netanya, and has recently been forced to place patients in its hallways because of a severe shortage of beds.

Dr. Greenwald, who is the chairman of the Netanya hospital, will meet Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino this morning, fresh from the success of the American Friends of Kiryat Sanz Laniado Hospital Dinner at the New York Hilton, where 1,200 American philanthropists had gathered in support of the 11 year old hospital.

In attendance at the New York dinner were: US Senator Alfonse D'Amato — Republican, New York, and upstate New York industrialist, Mr. Eugene Weiss, with whom Dr. Greenwald conferred before leaving New York.

At an impromptu press conference en route to JFK International Airport in New York, the 60 year old hospital expert explained that the beds in question were for the hospital's new department of geriatric medicine.

He continued, "The withdrawal of the permit will put a stop to the construction or expansion of much needed laboratories, X-ray units, out-patient clinics and a pharmacy."

Dr. Greenwald expressed optimism that the new health minister would understand the dire need to complete the geriatric department, which would treat Netanya's elderly.

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Syria tightens its grip

Post Middle East Staff
Syria tightened its grip on West Beirut yesterday as 700 Lebanese Army soldiers were deployed along the Green Line, and all 70 militia offices in the city were closed. (See Page 3 story).

The Chief Rabbinate of Israel HEARTIEST BLESSINGS

Jerusalem, 24 Shvat 5747

We come to sing the praises of Emunah, the National Religious Women's Movement, for its blessed work in the sphere of youth education in the spirit of our Holy Torah, activities carried out in its many institutions throughout the country.

The expansion of the Emunah educational network — its kindergartens, day-care centres, dormitory schools, *upenot* and women's college (*michlala*), as well as the expanded religious-informational activities of the Movement amongst Israeli women and youth — undertaken to maintain present and develop future institutions, is a severe drain on the Movement's depleted economic resources.

We call upon our fellow generous hearted Jews, wherever they be, to contribute willingly and generously to this important cause. We call upon synagogue trustees and worshippers to donate their Shabbat Tora pledges toward this purpose — the expansion and inculcation of religious education among Israeli youth, within the Emunah educational framework. Our blessings upon all who lend a hand, and our prayers that the Almighty aid them both spiritually and materially, and send them good health and success in all their endeavours.

With heartfelt blessings

Avraham Cahana Shapira
Chief Rabbi of Israel

Mordechai Ellahu
Rishon Lezion, Chief Rabbi of Israel

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AMSTERDAM	-4	18	3	37	Clear	
BRUSSELS	-3	17	3	37	Cloudy	
BRISBANE	-3	23	7	45	Clear	
CHICAGO	-3	23	7	45	Clear	
COPENHAGEN	-3	23	7	45	Clear	
FRANKFURT	-3	23	7	45	Clear	
GENEVA	-3	23	7	45	Clear	
HELSINKI	-3	23	7	45	Clear	
HONG KONG	16	21	7	45	Clear	
JOHANNESBURG	17	23	7	45	Clear	
LONDON	11	22	7	45	Clear	
LISBON	14	23	7	45	Clear	
MADRID	17	23	7	45	Clear	
MONTREAL	-3	18	3	37	Clear	
NEW YORK	-3	18	3	37	Clear	
OSLO	-3	18	3	37	Clear	
PARIS	-3	18	3	37	Clear	
RIO DE JANEIRO	21	26	10	50	Clear	
SAO PAULO	20	26	10	50	Clear	
STOCKHOLM	-3	18	3	37	Clear	
TOKYO	16	21	7	45	Clear	
TORONTO	-3	18	3	37	Clear	
VIENNA	-3	18	3	37	Clear	
ZURICH	-3	18	3	37	Clear	

For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy with occasional showers in the northern and central sectors. Outlook for Shabbat: Rain.

	Yesterday's	Today's	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	65	70	65	55-75	75
Tel Aviv	70	75	70	60-80	80
Safed	72	78	72	62-82	82
Haifa Port	70	75	70	60-80	80
Nazareth	62	68	62	52-72	72
Atula	64	70	64	54-74	74
Shimon	64	70	64	54-74	74
Tel Aviv	70	75	70	60-80	80
B-G Airport	74	79	74	64-84	84
Jericho	54	60	54	44-64	64
Caesarea	64	70	64	54-74	74
Be'er Sheva	64	70	64	54-74	74
Eilat	28	35	28	18-38	38

In Memoriam

A shloshim learning session in memory of David Nelson will be held on Sunday, Rosh Hodesh Adar, March 1, 1987, at 6:45 p.m. at the Musicology Department of the Hebrew University's Mt. Scopus campus, Block 7 (pink), Room 2715.

Aloni undergoes 'successful' liver operation

Jerusalem Post Reporter
MK Shulamit Aloni (Citizens Rights Movement) underwent a four-hour liver operation at Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva yesterday. The operation was described as successful by family members.
Aloni is expected to remain in hospital for about 10 days. She has asked well-wishers to refrain from visiting her.

Maccabi trounce Orthez

Post Sports Staff
Maccabi Tel Aviv whipped into a 11-0 lead within three minutes and deftly brushed off the challenge of French basketball champions Orthez last night to register an emphatic 106-87 victory in the important European Cup final pool game at Yad Eliyahu.
Well before the end, the sell-out 10,000 crowd could afford to indulge in enthusiastic carnival-style chanting in support of the power of Lee Johnson, the shooting wizardry of Doron Jamchee and the all-around skill of Kevin Magee, all at their imperious best, as they spearheaded Maccabi to a spirited performance for which Orthez had few answers.
Following their convincing 100-85 away win last night in Lithuania over the Soviet champions Zalgiris Kaunas, Tracer Milano of Italy virtually booked their place in the April 2 final. The other finalist - Maccabi or Orthez - will probably not be determined until the very last games on March 12 when Maccabi must beat Real Madrid in Spain while the Frenchmen are away in Kaunas.

Shimon Mizrahi, president of the Maccabi Tel Aviv yesterday stressed there was no ill feeling before last night's all-important game against the French club.
In response to the earlier report in *The Jerusalem Post* about Orthez's difficulties in finding courts on which to practise, Mizrahi pointed out that Orthez had been received by a Maccabi representative on their arrival here on Sunday night.
They had been told, he said, that if they required anything they should approach Maccabi and "we would do what we could to accommodate them." Mizrahi insisted, however, that there had been no such approach from Orthez. "Had they done so, we would clearly have helped them even to the extent of trying to arrange for them to practise at Yad Eliyahu."

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Defence to call Nazi hunter as witness

By ERNIE MEYER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
It looked like a day of routine cross-examination of prosecution witness Eliyahu Rosenberg yesterday, until the defence dropped the bombshell announcement that it would call Tuvia Friedman to the witness stand.

Nazi-hunter Friedman is expected to elaborate on how Rosenberg told him in 1947 that Ivan the Terrible had been killed in the 1943 Treblinka revolt. The eight-page written deposition Rosenberg made to Friedman at the time has already been entered in evidence.

Rosenberg explained to the court on Wednesday that his report did not say explicitly that Ivan had been killed, but rather that he had received a terrific beating. In any case, Rosenberg also made it clear that his report was only based on what he had heard from others shortly after the revolt and not on personal observation.

If Ivan did indeed die at the hands of the escaping prisoners, this would mean that John Demjanjuk is the victim of mistaken identity.

The build-up to this potentially crucial development was slow. Defence counsel Mark O'Connor greeted the court with his usual *Shalom, boker tov*, before he continued his cross-examination of camp survivor Rosenberg.

O'Connor asked the witness about a detail on the photo blow-up of the camp displayed to the left of the bench. When Rosenberg innocently

said at one point: "I'm short-sighted," O'Connor exploited the opening by saying: "But yesterday you were not short-sighted." This was a reference to the identification by Rosenberg of Demjanjuk as Ivan the Terrible.

"I'm only testing the acuity of his eyesight," O'Connor said.
The defence counsel then continued with several longish questions, which became more complicated in translation. This moved one of the three judges, Zvi Tal, to say: "Please make your questions shorter. They are too complicated. We



have requested this repeatedly before."

Partly as a result of this remark by the bench, O'Connor a little later told the witness: "I don't want to confuse you." To this Rosenberg shot back: "It's your right to try."

The questioning then turned to the eight-page report Rosenberg had made to the budding "documentation centre" Tuvia Friedman ran in a dingy room in Vienna in 1947. O'Connor wanted to know whether there had been any earlier report.

Yes, there had been. Before the end of the war Rosenberg had given an account of his experiences to a woman in Warsaw who said she worked for the Polish government in Lublin. "She was surprised I had

survived Treblinka," Rosenberg said.
After more probing on this point, presiding Justice Dov Levin asked O'Connor to shorten the introductions with which he prefaced some of his questions. "Sometimes this leads to misunderstandings, as the witness answers the preamble, rather than the question."

O'Connor: "Were you reduced to the level of animals?"
Rosenberg: "I'd say the opposite. They [the guards] were the animals. We were reduced to the level of ants, which could be crushed at will. I

obeyed orders, and if I could evade them, I did so."
Asked why he did not put down his experiences in writing, Rosenberg said that he lectures to youth groups when he is asked to. "For me it is easier to talk than to write."

There was further misunderstanding when the defence asked Rosenberg whether he knew of the Hassidic tradition of "teaching stories" and the moral value attached to them. "I'm not a Hassid and I don't know what a teaching story is," replied Rosenberg.

O'Connor: "Perhaps the account of Ivan's death you gave Tuvia Friedman was in the nature of such a story? Was everything in it the truth?"

DEMJANJUK ON TRIAL

Harish to order dayanim inquiry

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Attorney-General Yosef Harish is expected to order the police to open a criminal investigation against the 19 *dayanim* (Rabbinical Court judges) who circulated a petition against a High Court of Justice ruling. The petition called for the rejection of a High Court ruling that the Interior Ministry must register Shoshana Miller, a Reform convert, as a Jew on her identity card.
Harish will consult with senior Justice Ministry officials in the next

few days before making a final decision.

In his February 11 letter to Hammer, Harish wrote that the *dayanim* had apparently been guilty of "obstructing justice" and "contempt of court." He added that "if I am approaching you before I allow the investigation and the trial to proceed, it is only out of concern for the public interest."

The chief rabbis, meanwhile, yesterday expressed wholehearted approval of Hammer's handling of the affair.

PEACE

(Continued from Page One)
fields" which Peres refused to elaborate upon.

But he said that there was a tendency among the Egyptians to "look at persons" rather than principles in dealing with Palestinian representation.

Peres denied that Mubarak had presented him with a list of names of potential Palestinian participants in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, but held out the possibility that such a list would be submitted to the parties, and "informally discussed."

In his statement to the press, Peres said that Israel and Egypt were agreed that "the parties concerned - Jordan, the Palestinians and other countries" - will have to meet to find a "dignified solution" to the Palestinian problem. Egypt's contribution was potentially "great" as it is the only country that can talk with all the parties.

Peres reiterated that while the two countries aimed at direct talks between Israel and the Arabs, "if there was need to open the direct negotiations with an international conference, we intend to agree to its taking place."

Peres publicly expressed great admiration for the development in recent years of Egypt's infrastructure - roads, telephones, bridges, electricity - saying that Mubarak will emerge as the president who carried out the greatest construction projects in this century. Peres said that this could serve as a model for other countries in the region who prefer to divert their resources to development rather than war.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid then said to the reporters that Egypt is "attached" to

the peace process and seeks to see progress in this crucial field. Meguid said that the Egyptian leaders had talked with Peres about the international conference "as a continuation" of and on the basis of the agreement reached by Peres, "when he was prime minister," and Mubarak at Alexandria last September.

Meguid said that Egypt was committed to trying to solve the Palestinian problem while acknowledging that this was a very difficult task.

Asked if Egypt was aware of the divergent views on the matter in the Israeli government, Meguid responded that this was "an internal" Israeli matter, but expressed the hope that the matter "will be settled."

Peres then asked to add that he had not come to Egypt to mobilize "our Egyptian friends" in the internal Israeli struggle. Even those in Israel opposed to the international conference concept, he said, do not oppose checking the matter seriously.

In a comment on the dispute, monitored by Agence France Presse, Egyptian Radio said yesterday it was not of "much concern" to Egypt, but questioned the credibility of the Israeli cabinet. "With whom should Egypt deal?" the radio asked. "The government, the Likud or the Labour party?"

The radio said the "seriousness" Israel shows in seeking a just and durable settlement in the region will be the cornerstone of the relationship between the two countries.

At the briefing after the meeting, Peres said that various new ideas for pushing forward with the peace process would be discussed at today's second meeting with Mubarak.

Lavi project head blasts Zakheim

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA - A missile was fired yesterday at Pentagon deputy under-secretary Dov Zakheim by the chairman of the Lavi fighter project administration, Menahem Eini, in the developing "air war" with the Pentagon over the plane's future.

"This kippa, wearing religious Jew, who claims to be motivated by love of Israel, is in fact causing tremendous damage to Israel," Eini said. "The biblical 'Thy destroyers and they that made these waste shall go forth from thee' can be aptly applied to him, in reverse," he said, quoting Isaiah, in an obvious reference to Zakheim's latest statement that Israel may be losing tomorrow's wars by insisting on putting tomorrow's plane into the air.

Eini said that 4,800 people in Israel and another 1,500 in the U.S. were now working exclusively on the Lavi. It would not only fly, but its future models would also be developed, he said. He was replying to critics who hold that even if the Lavi were to fly, Israel would be unable to develop it further and it was, therefore, better to abandon the project now.

Project head Ovadia Harari - this year's winner of the Israel Prize for Technology - called on the government, which has thrice debated and approved the Lavi, to make a final

decision, bearing in mind that cancellation would jeopardize the status of important U.S. senators who had fought for American funds for the Lavi for the past seven years.

He revealed that initial production of the Lavi had already started. Technion aeronautics professor Yosef Rom - an Israel Defence Prize laureate - proposed that the U.S. adopt the Lavi as the next strike aircraft and manufacture it in the U.S.

The three were speaking in the Technion's Churchill Auditorium at the opening of the second day of the 29th Israel Annual Conference on Aviation and Astronautics.

Joshua Brilliant adds:

Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy yesterday tacitly agreed with the Pentagon's argument that excellent alternatives exist to the Lavi. But projects such as the Lavi are profoundly important for maintaining a qualitative edge over the enemy, he said.

Levy was speaking at a luncheon hosted by the Israel-America Chamber of Commerce in Tel Aviv.

Levy stressed that in a strict military sense there are many alternatives to the Lavi. "I do not need [the American-proposed alternatives] to know that F-16s, F-18s and all sorts of other combinations exist," he said.

'Best Israeli place in Egypt'

By BENNY MORRIS
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
CAIRO - Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, on the second day of his visit to Egypt, spent yesterday morning abiding oranges and reminiscing about his pioneering days in the Ben Shimon Agricultural School at Kibbutz Almot, above Lake Kinneret.

Peres was collected from his Heliopolis hotel by Agriculture Minister Yusuf Wali who is regarded here as Egypt's most powerful political figure after President Hosni Mubarak. He was driven 60 kilometres into the desert to an experimental farm near Ismailiya.

The farm, a 40,000-dunam, green expanse in the middle of the desert, has a team of Israeli agronomists, led by Ovadia Kedar of the Lachish region moshavim.

Wali described the site as "the best Israeli place in Egypt." Peres walked about discussing fruit-growing with the local fellahin and picking the odd

orange. He told Wali: "Don't think I've always been a politician. In my youth, I was at Ben Shimon and a member of Kibbutz Almot. I know how to value land."

The Israeli-trained Egyptian director of the farm, which employs hundreds of hands, Hamad Foad, spoke of his visits to Israeli settlements.

Wali said that Egypt would set up a string of such large farms in the near future. The farm grows Ein Shemer apples, and Valencia oranges, using Israeli drip irrigation systems rather than the usual Egyptian open-canal system.

In the background, while Peres strolled among the orange trees, Avraham Tami, director general of the Foreign Ministry, worked on various formulas for a joint or agreed statement with which the visit would end, after Peres's scheduled meeting later in the day with Mubarak.

STRIKERS

(Continued from Page One)

The Treasury, for its part, declares that it will not negotiate with strikers, but only with workers who are back on the job. In addition, says the Treasury, wages should not be paid for days not worked, in accordance with a cabinet decision of years past.

David Krivine adds:
Striking hospital workers will not get an agora more than they would have got before their latest walkout. Finance Minister Moshe Nissim stated in Tel Aviv yesterday. In the same way, the nurses who abandoned their patients in 1986 got nothing when their strike was settled in October that had not been agreed the previous August, he said.

Nissim was addressing the 17th annual conference of the Israel Association for the Study of Labour Relations at Tel Aviv University.

He castigated the administrative and maintenance workers for striking against the orders of the Histadrut and, worse still, of breaking the law. "I support a strong Histadrut," he said. "It must take action to prevent anarchy in labour relations."

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With deep sorrow we announce the sudden tragic and senseless passing of our mother, wife, daughter, and sister

CAROL (Pickholtz) DROT

The funeral took place on
February 25, 1987, (Shvat 26, 5747), in Arad.
Shiva is at 52 Hapalmah St., Arad

Husband: Yaacov Drot
Children: Avi, Michal, Yossi, Shmuel
Mother: Beatrice Pickholtz

The Pickholtz, Moskowitz and Bohm Families - Israel
The Pickholtz and Kitzman Families - Chicago, U.S.A.

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STUART PALMER
and his family, on the death of his

Mother

Iscar Blades, Nahariya

On the 30th anniversary of the death of our dear father, grandfather, father-in-law, the journalist

ERNST ZVI LASZLO

we will visit his grave at the Har Hamenuhot cemetery, Jerusalem, on Tuesday, March 3, 1987.
Taxis will leave at 2 p.m. from Reh. Narkiss.

The shloshim of

LEONARD SCHER

A memorial service will take place on Tuesday, March 3, 1987 (2 Adar 5747) at Kfar Etzion Cemetery. (We shall leave from Efrat Synagogue at 4:30 p.m.)

A shiur will follow, at Efrat Synagogue.

Our beloved

OIGEN (Genia) MICHALOWSKI

is no more.

The funeral took place at the Kiyat Shaul cemetery on February 26, 1987.

The Bereaved Family

JOSEPH ENGELBERG

Johannesburg, South Africa

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of my beloved husband, our dear father and grandfather
The funeral will leave on Sunday, March 1, 1987 at 10 a.m. from the Sanhedria Funeral Parlour, Jerusalem for the Har Hamenuhot cemetery.

His wife: Garcia
Sons: Mervyn (Moshe) Engelberg, Kfar Truman
Sydney Engelberg, Jerusalem
David Engelberg, Los Angeles
and bereaved families

מקדמת האכל

Soviets resume N-tests

MOSCOW. — The Soviet Union yesterday resumed nuclear testing after a 19-month freeze and blamed the move on U.S. refusal to join Moscow in a total test ban.

A Defence Ministry spokesman told a Moscow news conference that yesterday morning's blast at the test site near Semipalatinsk in central Asia was not the start of a new series and did not involve warheads.

The Kremlin announced last December that it would drop the unilateral moratorium it put into force on August 6, 1985, after the first U.S. test of 1987. There have so far been two American nuclear blasts this year.

The test was announced by the official Tass news agency exactly an hour after it took place at 0500 GMT. Tass said the strength of the blast was less than 20 kilotons — or 20,000 tons of dynamite.

Both U.S. tests this year have been in the same range.

The Defence Ministry spokesman, Major-General Gely Batyagin, told the news conference that the Soviet Union had been forced to drop the moratorium because of the "irresponsible policies" of Washington.

Moscow has frequently accused the U.S. of persisting with its own test programme as part of a drive to establish military superiority over the Soviet Union.

Throughout the moratorium, which was extended several times by Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union urged the U.S. to join in and discuss an overall nuclear test ban.

There was official silence in Washington and concern elsewhere



A Soviet major steps over rails outside a sealed tunnel at the nuclear test grounds, following the last test 19 months ago. (Reuters)

following news of the Soviet Union's resumption of tests.

In London, the British Foreign Office issued a statement saying the

blast showed that Moscow's test moratorium, which began July 25, 1985, was mainly propaganda. (AP, Reuters)

Syria 'won't try' to free hostages

BEIRUT (AP). — Syria's military intelligence chief in Lebanon yesterday ruled out a military operation to free American and other foreign hostages held by Moslem extremists.

Brig. Gen. Ghazi Kanaan also a news conference that missing Anglican Church envoy Terry Waite was "excessively courageous" to come to Beirut seeking to free them.

Kanaan made his comments after British Ambassador John Gray hinted yesterday that Syria's incursion into Moslem West Beirut could help free foreign hostages, and said he hopes to have news soon about Waite, missing since last month.

But Kanaan said he believes none of the 26 foreign captives is currently in Moslem West Beirut or any other area controlled by the Syrian army in Lebanon.

Kanaan also said Syrian forces have closed all 70 militia offices in West Beirut, killed 15 Moslem gunmen and 23 pro-Iranian Shi'ite militants, and arrested 20 others in a drive to end three years of militia anarchy in the capital's Moslem sector.

Moslem units of the Lebanese Army also deployed along part of the "Green line" dividing the city, and Syrian troops moved into the south yesterday.

Kanaan said the war between Shi'ite Amal militiamen and Palestinians for control of Beirut's refugee camps was fading "because there are no militiamen outside the camps any more."

He said food supplies were getting into the hungry shantytowns that had

been besieged for more than three months. In Geneva, however, a PLO representative charged the situation was "worse than ever" in the camps.

Kanaan gave the first official Syrian account of Tuesday's clash in which 23 Shi'ite militants of the Iranian-backed Hizbullah, or Party of God, were killed in the Basta slum district.

He said Syrian troops came under fire as they moved in to take over Hizbullah's main base under an agreement reached with all militias to hand over their centres.

"The base was burned and bombed," he said. "Lights suddenly went off and our troops came under fire. One of our soldiers was shot in the knee. So all gunmen found on the premises were then dealt with in the

manner you've seen."

A Hizbullah statement said the victims were "shot in the back of the head from a three-metre distance." But doctors who examined the bodies at a Beirut hospital said only seven victims had bullet wounds and that all had been axed and bayoneted.

It was the bloodiest clash since the Syrians, spearheaded by 100 tanks, rolled into Beirut. Over 2,500 Shi'ites, primarily women, demonstrated in the Baalbek area calling for revenge against the Syrians.

Despite Shi'ite threats of vengeance, Iran's revolutionary patriarch, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, was reported to have issued a Fatwa, or Moslem religious ruling, that Hizbullah should avoid a confrontation.

China's academics brace for another blow

PEKING. — As Chinese intellectuals expressed fear of further purges of academics yesterday, Communist Party documents revealed that Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping had told officials to use "dictatorial" methods to quell the recent student riots. Deng said that the officials should follow the example of their Polish counterparts in dealing with the Solidarity trade union protests in 1981.

The internal party documents, which contained two speeches Deng made to senior party leaders last month, were read by a Chinese official to foreign reporters. They quoted Deng as saying he was firmly opposed to "bourgeois democracy," which he said the U.S. used to "dominate other countries."

Deng, often portrayed as a pragmatic liberal in the Western media, appeared in the speeches as a conservative who took a tough line against any notion of installing democracy in China, analysts said. He also came across as the driving force behind China's recent return to orthodox ideology and policies, they added.

The documents were distributed on January 7 and January 15 to China's principal leadership organizations by the party central committee's general office as guidelines to bring the student protests under control.

Referring to the tough attitude, Polish leaders adopted to break up Solidarity, Deng said: "They had recourse to martial law and they brought the

situation under control. This shows that without dictatorship, it doesn't work. Dictatorial methods cannot be simply talked about, they have to be applied when the time comes."

"Everyone is ducking his head down," said one Peking intellectual yesterday. "You have to be so careful that it's difficult to work at all."

Reporters for China's official press say the job of interviewing government figures has become a minefield of potential political errors.

"When we interviewed a minister in the past, we always had to let the minister: 'check and amend our report,' one said. 'Now another government official gives an extra check, and the ministers are just as worried as the reporters.'" (AFP, Reuters)

Georgian dissident won't sign for pardon

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Georgian dissident Eduard Gudava has refused a request that he sign a statement pledging not to resume his former activities in exchange for release from labour camp, a friend said yesterday by telephone from Tbilisi.

She said Gudava had turned down the approach by the KGB on the grounds that "malicious hoodlums" charges against him were fabricated.

Gudava, 32, was sentenced to four years in labour camp on the charges in January 1986. A member of a Georgian group monitoring compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords, he had renounced his citizenship and applied to emigrate in 1982.

With his brother Tengiz, sentenced to 10 years of prison and exile last June on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, Gudava also belonged to an

underground rock band, "Phantom" broken up by the authorities in 1985.

"Phantom" member Marina Tereznia said that Gudava had been approached by the KGB on February 18 and asked to write a letter to the Georgian Supreme Soviet vowing to abstain from his former activities if released.

"Eduard Gudava categorically refused to write or sign such a statement on the grounds that the charges against him were fabricated," she said, adding that supporters of the Gudava brothers planned to stage protests if they were not freed.

The majority of some 150 Soviet dissidents pardoned by Kremlin decree this month signed statements pledging to discontinue their former actions or appealed for clemency in exchange for their release from prison, labour camp or exile.

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — President Reagan's friend Michael Deaver is fighting to stay out of jail just a year after gracing the cover of *Time* magazine as the personification of a successful Washington power-broker.

Deaver left his job as White House deputy chief of staff in May 1985 to start a public relations firm that billed clients for over \$4m. in its first year.

He has been under investigation for nine months for possible violations of ethics laws in connection with his lobbying activities.

Special prosecutor Whitney North Seymour said on Wednesday he would ask a grand jury to indict Deaver for lying to Congress and federal investigators. If convicted Deaver could be fined \$10,000 and sentenced to five years in jail.

One of the most publicized allegations against Deaver concerned his dealings on behalf of Canada, which retained his services for \$100,000 a year soon after he left the White House.

While Deaver was in the White House, Canada wanted the U.S. to do more in cleaning up the industrial pollution that causes acid rain. Canada says acid rain is destroying its lakes and natural resources.

Reagan ultimately named a special envoy to examine the problem. A congressional report last year said: "Deaver may have participated personally and substantially in the decision to appoint a special envoy for acid rain."

It is a stunning turnaround for Deaver, who built himself a reputation for making Reagan look good by putting beneficial "spins" on news events. He earned several hundred thousand dollars last year after years of drawing a modest government salary.

A master of dramatic "photo opportunities," Deaver was widely credited with creating the visually stunning footage on the 40th anniversary of D-day. Reagan appeared to American television viewers as dominant among the allied leaders gathered in Europe.



Michael Deaver (Reuters)

Deaver also had his failures, most notably his suggestion that Reagan visit Bitburg cemetery in West Germany where Nazi SS stormtroopers

are buried.

His current woes are a bitter pill for Reagan and his wife Nancy with whom Deaver has almost a familial relationship.

Deaver, 48, worked for Reagan for almost 20 years and is particularly close to Nancy. The two spoke almost daily for a time after the Iran arms scandal broke, as the president's wife sought counsel from old friends.

Deaver's lobbying activities on behalf of a number of foreign governments including Canada and South Korea aroused suspicion of influence-peddling. Critics accused him of trading on his personal ties with the Reagans.

Deaver denied any wrongdoing, including allegations that he had broken a law forbidding former officials from lobbying for one year on issues with which they were involved in office.

Reagan strongly defended his friend at a news conference, declaring: "He has never put the arm on me."

Palestinian pilots may have flown for Iraq

Post Defence Reporter. Palestinian pilots are believed to have flown missions for the Iraqi Air Force in the war against Iran and for the Libyan Air Force in Chad, the IDF's weekly, *Bamahane* reported.

The magazine said there were no reports on how well the Palestinians had done, but they were assumed to be poorly trained and inferior "even to Syrian and Egyptian pilots." They have been trained in North Yemen and Libya, "which are considered third rate," the magazine added.

The PLO's air force, called Force 14, was established in 1969-70 by officers who had quit other Arab air forces, particularly Jordan's.

Originally, the pilots were supposed to carry out suicide missions against strategic targets in Israel, *Bamahane* said. Palestinian youths were sent to several Arab states for training, but the PLO leadership decided to prepare an infrastructure for a regular air force instead.

The force itself comprises only a few dozen pilots and technicians, primarily in North Yemen. It has transport planes such as the Fokker 27, and helicopters, including Bell-204s purchased in England, but no fighter aircraft.

Big battle near Basra

BAHRAIN (Reuters). — Heavy fighting took place between Iranian and Iraqi forces on the Gulf War southern front yesterday, both countries reported.

The Iraqi news agency, INA, said that Iranian long-range artillery pounded Basra, Iraq's second city with a population of one million, while the Iranian news agency Irna,

said Iranian forces killed or wounded 2,000 Iraqis in bitter fighting east of the city.

INA said Iranian artillery shells landed on residential areas in the centre of the city for a third successive day, killing and wounding civilians and destroying property. The Iranians said that fresh Iraqi territory was captured in the operation.

Afghan bombers kill 58

ISLAMABAD. — Afghan planes bombed a Pakistani border area yesterday killing at least 58 people and injuring about 200, Pakistani officials said.

They said more than 24 bombs were dropped in two sorties of eight planes each in north Waziristan, hitting crowded bazaars in villages more than 10 kms. inside the border.

Many of the victims were reportedly Afghan refugees.

This was the most serious bombing into Pakistan since the Afghan government proclaimed a unilateral ceasefire in the eight-year war

against guerrillas on January 15.

In Geneva, yesterday, a UN report said human rights in Afghanistan have not improved much since the Soviet-backed government announced its "national reconciliation" programme last month.

Refugees are continuing to pour into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran, the report said, with the total number now past 5 million.

The report came as negotiators from Pakistan and Afghanistan sat down for a new effort in UN-sponsored indirect peace talks at Geneva. (Reuters, AP)

Norway's FM dies at 59

OSLO (AFP). — Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Frydenlund died in hospital here yesterday following a stroke. He was 59.

Frydenlund, who belonged to the centre of the Labour Party, had served under three prime ministers

Bomb defused in Barcelona synagogue

BARCELONA (AFP). — Police yesterday morning discovered and dismantled a powerful bomb that had been placed in the Barcelona synagogue, the police spokesman announced.

Police sources said the bomb contained 10 kgs. of explosives. It was discovered by the policemen detailed to protect the synagogue against vandals.

A spokesman for the synagogue said the explosion was timed to coincide with the start of a daily service. There were about 20 people inside at the time.

FOREIGN BRIEFS

Former Egyptian minister seeks Egypt-Syria ties

DOHA (Reuters). — Former Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad was quoted yesterday as saying he believed both Egypt and Syria wanted a rapprochement.

"There is a strong desire on the part of Egypt for a rapprochement with Syria...and I have not found any disinclination on the part of (Syrian) President Hafez Assad," the daily *Al-Rayah* quoted him as saying on a private visit to Qatar. "It is also Syria's desire to work jointly with Egypt."

Pretoria desegregates cinemas

PRETORIA (Reuters). — South Africa's capital, Pretoria, bowing to pressure from film distributors, has recommended that its 11 whites-only cinemas be opened to all races.

The city council approved the move on Wednesday night in the face of noisy opposition from ultra-conservatives.

25 held in anti-CIA campus protests

IOWA CITY (AP). — Demonstrators occupied a University of Iowa office Wednesday to protest CIA recruitment on campus. Police said 25 people were arrested.

In Madison, Wisconsin, about 50 demonstrators against CIA recruitment at the University of Wisconsin occupied a corridor in a campus building and said they would remain through the night. No arrests were immediately reported.

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ENERGY IS WONDERFUEL

French to meet deadline set by terrorists

Mild sentence seen in Abdallah trial

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI

PARIS. — The French government has apparently decided to bring the trial of suspected terrorist Georges Ibrahim Abdallah to an end tomorrow, beating the March 1 deadline set by Abdallah's "friends" in Lebanon.

According to reliable sources, the court will be asked by the prosecutor to hand down a relatively mild sentence of 10 years' imprisonment, of which four will be suspended. Abdallah's prison term will apparently begin from the day he was arrested on October 25, 1984. According to French law, he will be eligible for parole in exactly six months.

The turning point in the trial came on Wednesday when Raymond Barr, the deputy director of DST, the French counter-espionage unit, testified that Abdallah was not the head of the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Front, or Farl. "He is just a small-time chief, and a bad one, since he was caught. He was the controller of a small command unit comprising members of his clan. He was seeking notoriety."

Attorney George Kiejman, representing the U.S., violently challenged Barr's declaration and quoted the conclusions of a previous DST investigation stating that Abdallah was directly responsible for the designation of targets for his group's terrorist attacks.

Kiejman yesterday produced a letter that was allegedly sent by Abdallah to Western news agencies in Beirut in November 1981 claiming responsibility for the shooting at Christian Chapman, the acting U.S. ambassador in Paris.

The hand-written document was the first direct link between Abdallah and Farl. Abdallah's counsel, Jacques Vergès, forced the president of the court to refuse to allow the letter to be examined by experts.

He said that it came from the CIA and was therefore not admissible evidence.

The Jerusalem Post showed the letter to an expert graphologist, who said the handwriting was "strikingly similar to that of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah."

Kiejman said the letter proved Abdallah's importance in Farl. "Obviously," he told The Post, "Abdallah's lawyer was of the same opinion. He wouldn't have made that fuss otherwise."

Observers attributed the DST's "mind-boggling" turnaround on Abdallah's role to a need to preserve its credibility with the secret services of Arab countries.

The DST was instrumental in obtaining the release in 1985 of abducted French diplomat Gilles Peyrolles, who had been taken hostage in Lebanon by Abdallah's brothers. The diplomat was freed after the intervention of the Algerian secret service, which reportedly agreed to act after receiving the DST's word that Abdallah would be released.

American officials present during the trial said the U.S. would consider pressing new charges against Abdallah if the sentence was too lenient. The Post was told. The U.S. will ask for the reopening of the Chapman case based on Kiejman's letter.

Supermatchmaker fights against Jewish zero population growth

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Both Clark Kent and Motti Friedman wear glasses, but while the former must go into a telephone booth to become Superman, Friedman is becoming Supermatchmaker with a single leap of an audacious imagination.

A ninth generation sabra and ex-yeshiva student, Friedman, 42, once supported himself as a hazzan and a fencing coach. Now he is dedicating himself to the demographic survival of the Jewish people with a worldwide Jewish singles organization.

In a sense, Friedman is a 19th-century phenomenon, a type common among the old maskilim (Enlightenment scholars) and early Zionist leaders. He is the product of an ultra-Orthodox upbringing who became an education officer in the IDF and who, though no longer observant, is deeply committed to Jewish survival.

His doctoral thesis at Columbia University's School of Education dealt with non-military education in the IDF, the army whose training for ideals and values, Friedman says, is "unmatched in the West."

Towards the end of his stay in the U.S., Friedman abandoned his cantorial and fencing activities and became national director of the Institute for Students and Faculty on Israel. On his return he was appointed the first executive of the Israel Forum, a think-tank devoted to bringing Israel and the Diaspora closer together.

But his experience abroad made him realize that the problem of Jewish singles was acute, and he was determined to do something about it. His answer was Tandu, an organization whose name means "two bodies together."

"We all know what is happening to the Jewish people all over the world — zero population growth,



Motti Friedman

mixed marriages, late marriages and little inclination to have children," he says.

In the U.S., he admits there have been attempts to get singles "involved" in the Jewish Federations, but this has been restricted to the local level. Friedman is concerned about organizing Jewish singles on a worldwide scale, both to make them more concerned with things Jewish and to satisfy their social needs.

"If they want to stay single, fine, we won't pressure them. But if they want to get married we'll offer them the possibility of meeting other suitable people."

Friedman himself is a bachelor.

Both in the U.S. and elsewhere in the world, professionals have little opportunity to meet others, he says. He hopes to rectify this, first with mass tours, and later with a highly developed network.

The first tour, planned for this summer, is to Poland and Hungary. "It will include the seriousness of

Poland and the fun of Hungary. Participants will be people from Israel, the U.S., Europe, "anywhere."

"We won't discriminate against anyone, but I can't imagine a non-Jew wanting to participate in a programme devoted to Jewish consciousness," he says. As for observance, "if they want to keep kosher, fine. We'll make it possible. If they don't, that's fine, too. We won't force them." But he plans to ensure that there is "no organized desecration of Shabbat."

Friedman promises that the tour group will not consist of "92 women and two men." His study of Jewish communal life has taught him, he says, that men are interested in singles events if they are well presented. "I've checked the market," he says.

The tour is expected to lead to other activities. A worldwide newsletter will inform travellers of what is doing elsewhere in the world. Holidays will be mass events. "I have a vision of thousands of Jewish singles coming to Israel next Pessah."

Eventually, there could be computerized lists available for those seeking a suitable partner. Prominent psychologists and sociologists would volunteer their time to ensure that the matching was done properly. In time, Tandu could become a worldwide Jewish non-profit match-making service, all this in an environment where no one would feel pressured to get married.

"Let them meet and talk, get married if they like. We are giving them a sense of belonging, a way to form social connections."

There is, in the world today, the personal suffering of thousands of individuals who want to meet others," he says. There is also the "suffering of the Jewish People. Here is a solution for the individual that also helps the community."

Bar-Ilan head favours army service for Tora students

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter
A call for all yeshiva students to serve in the army came this week from Rabbi Emmanuel Rackman, Chancellor of Bar-Ilan University.

Rackman, speaking at the annual general meeting of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel, said that, in his view, "every man of Tora should spend at least part of his time in the physical defence of the state of Israel."

Later, in answer to a question, he admitted there might be some justification for exempting some scholars, "but not when the number [of those exempted] is one division or two divisions."

Speaking at the end of a day-long symposium on religious pluralism, Rackman recalled that he himself had served as a chaplain in the U.S. Army, with the rank of colonel. The demand for yeshiva students to undergo army service was in keeping with halacha, he added.

On another issue, he charged that "the rabbinical courts act in such a way that very few Israelis have respect for them."

He also said that the time had come to work for a real peace between Israel's religious factions.

Killed sister over family honour

HAIFA (Itim). — A 20-year-old man from the Arab village of Arrabe, Jazir Nimm Badarna, was charged here yesterday with the murder of his sister Kamila, 18, a month ago. The charge sheet said that Badarna surrendered to the police after stabbing his sister 30 times. He said he had seen her speaking to a young man and suspected sexual immorality. A police post-mortem showed that the girl had died a virgin.



Foreign Minister Peres on an orange-picking expedition at an experimental farm near Ismailiya yesterday. (AFP telephoto)

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv Robert Rosenberg

Thursday is conniving day in the city. It's the day you figure out where you'll party on Friday night; whom you'll sleep with on Saturday night; and if you're a politician, whom you'll do in during the coming week.

So on Thursday mornings, at the cafe next door to Labour Party headquarters, the tables fill up by noon. With no Knesset business going on in Jerusalem, the politicians have things to do in Tel Aviv, including dropping in at Yarkon Street headquarters.

There goes the dynamic kibbutznik head of a Knesset committee. Here comes the former Histadrut secretary-general. They pass in front of the big glass windows of the cafe, striding purposefully into headquarters. In a little while, they'll come out.

Cafes on Thursdays — dates and politics

Some have cars and drivers. Others have aides who wait in the cafe, at tables where politics is the only topic of conversation. Since gossip counts for so much in politics, there's that, too.

On days like this Thursday, with the boss — Shimon, as he's known in this cafe — in Cairo, and the other guys' boss in Jerusalem, and election fever in the air, there's a bustle which is unusual even for normally bustling Thursdays in the cafe.

In the old days, this cafe didn't exist. There was the lobby and dining room of the Dan Hotel diagonally across the street. Those were the days before the Hiltons and Sheratons, when the Dan was The Hotel.

But a few years ago, Shimon was caught having a cuppa at an outdoor cafe around the corner, and then, last year, some enterprising fellow with a knack for hiring pretty waitresses and an art deco taste in decor, opened this place next door to

110 Yarkon Street.

The management at 110 tried a little competition. They did a "re-gent," which means redecorating, in the top floor cafeteria inside Labour headquarters. But even when the Political Committee, the most important of all the party committees, is meeting in the too-small room across the hallway, people who get bored prefer the downstairs, next-door cafe to the new formica and wallpaper of the top floor cafeteria. The little ladies in their blue working coats are no competition for the aspiring actress types downstairs in the art deco cafe.

Herut, the National Religious Party, the Citizens' Rights Movement, the political journalists, even the Liberal Party, all have their own versions of where to sit on Thursdays.

This Thursday, the Herutniks were in Jerusalem at their boss's house. That's not quite the same as

being in a cafe in Tel Aviv for lunch, but by evening most of them would be in the city, making plans for their own downtown conviving not far from King George Street, where Merzudat Ze'ev (Ze'ev's citadel) is located.

Herutniks tend to do their conviving at weddings; the wedding hall on the second floor of the citadel brings in a pretty penny for the party. It's which wedding invitation lists you're on or off that separates the men from the boys — the Shamirists from the Levities, or the "princes" from the rest — in Herut.

Non-princely Herut convivers can be found much later, on Thursday nights, at Allenby Street basement music and food joints, where Mediterranean soul music played on Turkish — or Greek — guitars is played on electric amplifiers with electric piano backup.

Down the street from Herut head-

quarters, the Independent Liberals, as opposed to the Liberal Party or the New Liberal Centre Party, have their place. They own the building, which seems pretty empty on a Thursday. The elevator has stopped working. The furniture isn't the fake wood veneer of the nouveau riche Herut or the merely decrepit Labour Party.

It's the well-worn wooden desks and chairs of political money so old that it's gone. A dusty photo of Kfir jets flying over Tel Aviv hangs crooked on the walls next to a faded Nahum Gutman print of Jaffa port.

The National Religious Party has its own headquarters, called the Kaset, up Ibn Gvirol, near the Norda intersection, above a branch of Bank Hamizrahi and across the street from a ticket office also known as the Kaset. They also have cafes in the area, and, one would assume, they have a completely different conviving plan for Friday night.

Purse snatchers active in Tel Aviv

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Two women had their purses snatched in separate incidents in Tel Aviv yesterday.

At 1 a.m., a woman walking along Rehov Tchernikovsky had her purse snatched by a man who also mugged her. She said she had NIS 10 and documents in the purse.

At 10 a.m., another woman had her purse snatched at the Allenby corner of Nahlat Binyamin. She told police the purse contained \$200, NIS 800, a ring with 21 diamonds and a gold chain.

Terror bomb explodes on Bnei Brak kiosk

BNEI BRAK (Itim). — An explosive charge went off at 3 a.m. yesterday on top of a kiosk on Rabbi Tarfon Street here. No one was injured, but piles of newspapers went up in flames as a result of the explosion. Police said the charge was placed by terrorists.

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HAIFA — Tourism School, Multipurpose Building, Room 142, Hais University, Tel. 04-240366, Sun. — Thurs., 5:30-8:00 p.m. And all Government Tourism Information Offices, during regular working hours.

Registration will close on March 15, 1987. The number of places is limited.

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter
One of the biggest questions being asked in Western foreign ministries is what should be done to help Mikhail Gorbachev continue with his reform efforts.

The Israeli answer to the question may, of necessity, include preparing to negotiate with the Soviet Union, either bilaterally or at an international peace conference.

Yuri Stern, the spokesman for the Jerusalem-based Soviet Jewry Information Centre, describes the transient nature of the Kremlin in reform as "an opening to pressure, an invitation to pressure."

He believes that such new developments as the Soviet Foreign Ministry fielding questions about emigration, which hitherto had been strictly an Interior Ministry affair, indicate the new emphasis the Kremlin is placing on human rights as an international media issue.

Not that Stern is particularly optimistic: "It's not a new ball game, it's a new market — and refuseniks and political prisoners are the new merchandise."

The Kremlin is "inviting the pressure," says Stern, because like any system in transition, there are "windows of opportunity" as the system lurches into its new posture. And the invitation to pressure is a way to up the ante for the relaxing of repression.

'Glasnost gives West chance to bargain with Moscow'

According to this analysis, Gorbachev is actually interested in foreign demonstrations and international media attention for various individual symbols of Soviet repression. The release of those individual symbols in turn draws praise from the international media, which in turn put more pressure on Western governments to make concessions to Moscow.

"There's no doubt that things have changed. Six months ago, the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry wouldn't be taking phone calls from Israeli journalists or MKs," Stern says, referring to MK Dedi Zucker's conversation with Gensy Gerasimov this week.

But while Zucker might have found some cause for optimism in Gerasimov's statement that the Soviet authorities are "rechecking the so-called secret jobs category, sympathetically," Stern believes that the statement fits past patterns of Soviet behaviour.

"It is very important to pay attention to what the Kremlin does, and not what it says," Stern says. Nonetheless, the changes in

Kremlin policy, even in a matter of public relations, "open new ways for action," he says.

"They never came out with such publicity before — they obviously have new emphases and new approaches. But they are still using the Jewish card as an option for marketing in the West in exchange for other things — the Strategic Defence Initiative, or Jackson-Vanik," says Stern, referring to the congressional legislation that links Soviet emigration with Washington's trading posture towards Moscow.

While Stern believes in trading on the grand scale, he calls for a tough deal to be worked out by tough negotiators. "If the West can deal on the Soviet level, then it will work well. Otherwise, all that will happen will be a few humanitarian gestures."

A little more than a year ago, a leading Israeli political scientist, Prof. Yehzekel Dror, listed a kind of Ten Commandments of preparing to negotiate with the Soviets, including a call for what was then considered "unconventional thinking" — an international conference in which

Israel would be ready to make deals that would link Soviet emigration and the prices Israel would pay for mass emigration.

Dror also called for establishing what he described as an "inter-ministry staff" to handle the preparations for such negotiations, but in February 1986, when he spoke at the Hebrew University's Leonard Davis Institute, he was well aware that "for political reasons it may not be possible to set up such a working group." Nonetheless, he said, it was important that at least a "secret quality group" be established to work directly for the prime minister.

Dror is not optimistic about Israel's political structure being ready for such negotiations. "If there is not proper preparation," he summed up, "the probability of success in negotiations is minimal."

In 1985, for the first time, the Soviets linked emigration with the peace process and diplomatic rela-

tions between Jerusalem and Moscow. The Soviet offer was leaked to the Israeli press in what appeared at the time to be part of the Likud-Labour political struggle.

At a meeting with the Israeli ambassador in Paris, Ovadia Sofer, then-Soviet ambassador (and now the deputy foreign minister) Yuli Vorontsov offered "the package deal." Israel would get diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and emigration for refuseniks and a relatively large number of Soviet Jews, in exchange for Soviet participation in the peace process, including an Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights.

Prime Minister Shamir's absolute rejection of an international conference includes a qualifier — when the offer comes, Israel will consider it, debate it, "perhaps ask the people," a hint of either a national referendum or an election with Labour and Likud facing off on the issue.

But that approach, at least as far as Dror is concerned, prevents the kind of preparation — political and emotional — necessary for the tough bargaining that Stern believes can bring about mass emigration. (The last of a series.)

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HEALTH

New Zealand's system More self-rule

Simon Louissou

WITH THE recurrence of yet another bout of sickness in the health service, a look at other models may give a clue not only to what is wrong but what might be done to find a cure.

One country worth looking at is New Zealand. Though geographically distant from each other, Israel and New Zealand have much in common. In terms of population, size and standard of living New Zealand is closer to Israel than almost any other Western country. New Zealand, like Israel, was built on socialist, democratic precepts and has a health service that is a combination of public and private schemes.

In common with virtually every other Western health service, the New Zealand service has been under severe financial strain in the last decade. Expenditure doubled between 1969 and 1974 and then doubled again in the next 10 years. New Zealand's health service is financed through standard taxation. Three-quarters of the budget goes to the country's hospitals which are mostly nationalized, and the rest goes to primary health care which is private, but subsidized.

A major difference between the two health services is that in New Zealand hospitals are run by regionally-elected boards of management. Budgets used to be allocated by the Ministry of Health on the basis of the previous year's budget but this was found to retain the inequalities in the system. Money is now provided on the basis of the size of the population within the catchment area of the board.

Unlike here, New Zealand's Health Ministry largely confines itself to funding, administration, policy development and planning. Day-to-day administration is left to the boards who have a large degree of autonomy on how funds are allocated. The system is not without bureaucratic problems, but they are much less severe than in Israel.

All hospital services are free and, of course, waiting lists have developed for non-urgent cases. Largely because of this, private health schemes have flourished in the last 10 years with nearly half the population now covered. The major private health insurer also runs its own hospitals - heavily subsidized by the state - which allow people to jump the waiting lists which the state is happy to see reduced. The schemes also reimburse doctors' fees and provide compensation for lost wages during hospitalization. In addition, the majority of abortions are performed by private clinics.

Where the system works best in New Zealand is in the primary health care area. When they qualify, most doctors go into private practice, charging patients a fee ranging between \$2 and \$6 per visit. They also receive a government subsidy on a

per patient basis. This used to cover 80 per cent of the fee but was allowed to decline by not adjusting according to inflation until it comprised only 20 per cent of the average fee. The present minister of health decided to increase the subsidy to \$5 on condition that doctors who accepted it charged the maximum fee. This was fiercely resisted by the independent-minded Medical Association and eventually the minister backed down.

This system works on a basis of trust; corruption is virtually unknown. Patients have complete freedom of choice in choosing their GP. However, to see a specialist they must be referred by a GP. Specialists receive the same subsidy as GPs and consequently cost more because of the higher fees they command.

The imposition of a charge to see a doctor is seldom enough to prevent people making visits but enough to make people think twice. Child subsidies are double those given for adults and if people are unable to pay they can attend public hospital out-patients' departments. Doctor visits per capita average three, compared with nine in Israel.

OPHTHALMOLOGIST Marion Book who trained in New Zealand and now works here believes that the New Zealand health model is one Israel could well learn from.

While everyone is completely covered they still have to pay and this makes them appreciate what they get, she says. There is still an almost free choice of doctor and far less effort is needed to get satisfactory treatment.

Book says the lack of an appointment system in most schemes in Israel wastes a lot of time and not just that of the patients.

The "appalling" remuneration of local doctors forces them to take second jobs and results in a decline in the service provided by official hospital doctors. Book would like to see more widespread acceptance of the Sharap (private medical service) system in Haassada.

There is also much less cooperation between hospitals and doctors in Israel than in New Zealand. One reason for this, she believes, is that Israel has too many doctors. There are 400 ophthalmologists here, compared to 75 in New Zealand covering the same population.

Despite the problems in Israel, Book says there has been an improvement during her 15 years' practice and she remains optimistic.

An Australian doctor working in Israel who did not wish to be named and who knows both the New Zealand and Australian schemes, says he prefers the Victoria State scheme whereby patients take out their own insurance and are free to choose their own doctors and hospitals.

"Here there is no choice unless you use the under-the-table system. Doctors are not independent and people are always telling them what to do and how much they will earn," he said.



(Israel Simionovsky)

Health service, heal thyself

Ken Schachter and Simon Louissou

MAYBE THE headlines tell the story best: "Kupat Holim strike extended"; "Major hospital strike looms"; "Doctors set to strike today; refuse piling up"; "Hospital workers, lashed by Herzog, go back to work"; "Hospital strikers fight orders."

Or perhaps it's the doctors, who feel trapped between a public that demands professionalism and a system that encourages mediocrity.

Or just possibly it's the patients and their families, who are subject to the system's minor indignities and life-threatening flaws: the pensioner forced to shuttle from a Kupat Holim clinic's pharmacy to a regional pharmacy to a private drug store in search of some pills; the mother who watches with trepidation as a doctor rifles through a medical textbook to find out how to treat a child's routine respiratory infection; the prostate patient who must wear a catheter for six months while he waits for a hospital bed.

Like a punch-drunk boxer, Israel's health-care system has been teetering from one near-catastrophe to the next for years. Always on the brink of collapse, it stumbles, but doesn't fall. Indeed, according to Dr. Ram Ishai, head of the Israel Medical Association, there is no crisis at all, for a crisis suggests a critical event such as a heart attack. But in this case, the patient's condition is simply chronic - lingering, lasting, inveterate, bad, intense, and severe.

The public has become inured to warnings that the system is near collapse, says Ishai. The cry has been heard too often: doctors' strike, nurses' strike, maintenance and administrative workers' strike. It all washes over now.

Perhaps recognizing that the findings of a government-backed commission of inquiry could be greeted with a yawn - as happened to a similar committee's report a decade ago - at least one reformer offers a radical solution.

"The government should declare a state of emergency in medicine," says Professor Andre de Vries, former director of Beilinson Hospital. Such a declaration, he says, would be akin to "going to war," and presumably would circumvent political stalemates and intransigence by vested interests.

"You can say it [reform the system] will take years," de Vries says. "But if it takes years, we won't accomplish anything."

IF ANYONE should know about intransigence, vested interests and apathy concerning health care issues, it's Dr. Ezra Sohar. Ten years ago, the Tel Aviv University Medical School professor headed a committee which proposed a complete reorganization of the health system. The recommendations were accepted by then-Health Minister Eliezer Shostak, and promptly forgotten.

Sohar blames the "politicization" of the medical system for thwarting his, and other, reform initiatives. Specifically, he points to the role of the Histadrut and the giant labour federation's health-care arm, Kupat Holim Clalit, as the major impediment to needed change.

Though Kupat Holim Clalit was an up-to-date system when it was established, he says, "bureaucratization" has set in, with an office functionary playing the key traffic cop role.

"If the doctor sends someone for an X-ray, it's the office manager who will decide when it's his turn," Sohar says. "It's a completely calcified system."

When he asked why the health plan didn't simply send patients to doctors' offices, Sohar says a Histadrut official replied: "We want them to know what we did for them."

Sohar concludes: "You'll never have a solution unless medicine is

depoliticized."

Like Sohar, Ishai cites the "lack of will" to carry out reforms, but he cites the "blinding slogans from the past" as some of the major obstructions. These include the sacred cows of free medicine and equal care for all. The latter is carried to the extreme that if it is impossible to find a cure for all, it is best not to improve things for anyone, critics charge.

WHILE SOHAR takes a hard line on the political aspects of the system, others see the primary problem as economic or organizational. De Vries, for example, urges the "privatization" of all health facilities.

"I think the principle of the government running hospitals is wrong," he says. "They should release hospitals and make them private companies. Kupat Holim Clalit is private. It belongs to the Histadrut, but it's private. You'd have health funds, group practices and you'd have the hospitals."

He dubs the hospitals to be spun off by the government "Bezek hospitals," after the phone company that was turned into a quasi-private corporation.

"I see Israeli medicine as private," de Vries says. "As a citizen, you have to insure yourself, but only with a private company, since there's nothing else." He would have the government fix insurance premiums that would be equal throughout the industry and would be graduated according to income. Such a system would let the companies compete for subscribers on the basis of service, while setting their own salary structures for doctors, nurses and other health-care personnel.

Like de Vries, Professor Arye Globerson calls for the Ministry of Health to sell off its hospitals, allowing it to concentrate on planning and policy-making. "The ministry should not be running hospitals, which is its main function now and leaves it no time for its proper role," said Globerson, director of the Golda Meir Institute. "There is no justification for the ministry to run hospitals directly."

IF THERE is one thread that runs through the proposals of all the advocates of reform interviewed by *The Jerusalem Post*, it is a call for greater efficiency.

Globerson cites the use of expensive equipment like X-ray machines at government and Kupat Holim hospitals on a one-shift basis, as opposed to the two- or three-shift basis in many U.S. hospitals. Sohar also tells of a new blood-test machine that can process 200 samples an hour, enough to cover the entire Tel Aviv area. How many such machines are there in the area? Ten.

His 1977 report suggested that the National Insurance apparatus collect the membership fees of two health funds, Clalit and Leumi (the latter is the fund affiliated with the Herut Party). It was estimated that 40 office workers for National Insurance could do the work of 1,500 Kupat Holim Clalit office workers in processing fees.

De Vries agrees that many administrative workers should be slashed, but, he argues, there also is a surplus of doctors. He would close two of the country's four medical schools to student admission, sharply cutting into the 350 graduates produced yearly.

Sohar points to the price of Kupat Holim Clalit drugs as further evidence of that sick fund's inefficiency. The fund uses its massive buying power to get the best prices when purchasing drugs, but once the bureaucracy is factored in, he says, the medicine costs the same as in a private pharmacy.

Another common theme sounded by the reform advocates is that there should be a liberalization in setting the salaries of health professionals.

Specifically, Sohar says, salary inducements would weaken the temptation to practise black medicine.

"All doctors in Israeli hospitals, all chiefs of departments, get the same salary, whether he's an internist or a world-famous specialist," Sohar says. "They net about \$900. You can't expect high-grade, world-renowned doctors to work for this money. So what do they do? They sell beds. The Ministry of Health knows about it. The Kupat Holim knows about it. But they don't do anything, because if they do, they'll have to raise salaries all round."

As for the ethical climate in Israel's medical community, Sohar says this has deteriorated along with the public's confidence in the profession.

"There is a certain change lately. I think mostly in the last five years," he says. "People who believed before that Israeli medicine is second to none, today have their doubts. They know you have to bribe, to get *protektzia*."

"The health service problem is typical of Israel," Globerson says. "We are good creative thinkers, but we are the champions of non-implementation. Unless we're forced to decide, maybe the series of crises will bring the Knesset to a decision to set up a task force to investigate the matter."

"But unless parliament undertakes to fully implement the recommendations, it will be a waste of time to have a new committee. Otherwise there will be a new series of strikes beginning the next day."

The American experience

Cutting costs

Ken Schachter

AS THE HEALTH authorities ponder a long-overdue overhaul of the health services, they might well consider a recent American experience in controlling the spiralling costs of health care.

In the U.S., the cost-cutting drive has been embraced by both government and industry with some impressive results. In 1984, hospital admissions fell by 4 per cent, the largest decline ever. The average hospital stay also dropped a record 5 per cent from 7.4 to 6.7 days.

All this comes in the wake of a decades-long climb in total health expenditures, from about \$27 billion in 1960 and \$75 billion in 1970 to over \$300 billion in 1985.

Paralleling the climb in gross expenditure has come an increase in percentage of gross national product going towards health care from 7 per cent in 1970 to 11 per cent in 1985 or about \$1,500 per person. Had the cost-cutting measures not been instituted in the early 1980s, experts say, health-care costs would have gobblined up 14 per cent of GNP by 1990.

How has the U.S. managed to blunt the onslaught of costs amid a continuing demand for the best and the most up-to-date health care? A substantial portion of the cost-cutting has come as a result of increased scrutiny on the part of employers alarmed over the rising cost of health plans widely offered as fringe benefits by U.S. companies.

Instead of offering plans that pay for hospital stays from the first dollar, many now offer plans with substantial deductibles. Thus, you have a situation of employees faced with paying fees beyond the premium, a portion of which also is often borne by the worker.

Aside from shifting more of the burden to the employee, U.S. firms are affiliating with health insurance plans that scrutinize costs more closely. Knight-Ridder Corp., a Miami-based media company, uses an ombudsman who evaluates requests for non-emergency surgery by employees. Such plans also frequently solicit second opinions before cost procedures are undertaken.

One American analyst, citing the cost-cutting efforts, declared that the U.S. is "knocking the fluff" out of a health-care system bloated with

surplus hospital beds and trained by an excessively liberal hospital admissions policy.

Hospitals have also fallen in line with the cost-trimming drive. A prime example is the development of non-invasive surgical techniques, which can reduce, or eliminate, the need to stay overnight at a hospital. Surgery to repair knee ligaments or remove cataracts used to mean remaining at a hospital for days. But now arthroscopic techniques and laser surgery respectively mean a patient can be admitted in the morning and released in the afternoon.

Responding to the cut in admissions, hospitals are consolidating their operations and converting empty wings to long-term care facilities. They are also offering home-care services in joint ventures with nursing homes.

ASIDE FROM USING the carrot of moral suasion, the Reagan administration has been using the stick of a revised Medicare policy to cut costs. The programme, which provides health care for the elderly, has devised a system of diagnostic-related groups (DRGs) under which hospitals receive a pre-determined sum for each procedure, regardless of the time spent in hospital. The DRG schedule - so much for a hip replacement - is generally regarded as niggardly by health professionals, but is a prime motivator in inducing hospitals to encourage short stays.

Despite the successes of the American system in curbing costs, there are those who question whether the U.S. model can be applied across the board in Israel, given the disparity between health expenditures in Israel and the U.S.

There's little doubt that the "black medicine" system is becoming increasingly entrenched in this country putting those unable, or unwilling, to pay at a disadvantage.

Dr. Ezra Sohar, who is affiliated with Tel Hashomer Hospital, recalls his surprise when he received a letter requesting treatment from a woman who works at the hospital.

"I was shocked," he said. "I asked her, 'Why didn't you just come and see me?' She said she had heard it was better to write a letter first. I treated her and she asked if I should pay me. She thought I wouldn't be interested unless she paid me. It's not the first time."

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MEIR YA'ARI remained a rebel against his early hasidic upbringing to the end. Before he died last Saturday, a few weeks short of his 90th birthday, he left strict orders to members of his family, the kibbutz he helped to establish that they were to conduct a secular burial ceremony.

The founder, doyen and ideologist of the Hashomer Hatzair movement, the Kibbutz Artzi federation and its political arm, Mapam, Ya'ari was the grandson of a renowned hasidic rabbi in Galicia. Listening to his speeches at Mapam council meetings, such earnest audiences, one could not but marvel at the way he had fashioned a movement that combined Communism with the qualities of a secular hasidic sect — minus the latter's joy of living. No wonder he earned the appellations of "the Red Rebbe" or "the Admor of Merhavim."

Ya'ari was the last of the founding generation and of the great ideologists who fashioned Labour Zionism and the Israeli Labour movement, a part of history before his death. He enjoyed nothing better than engaging in polemics with an adversary of his own calibre. This left him lonely, as one of another of his historic adversaries — Ben-Gurion — passed away. In later years he became less combative, and I recall his tribute to Ben-Gurion, which he told me, wistfully, "I didn't write it. There's no one left to argue with."

The tough old political war-horse had a certain charm. In an interview 20 years ago he talked about the conference Ben-Gurion called in Paris in 1940, to which Mapam was not invited and related with a glint in his eye, "Ben-Gurion didn't want me. He said, 'I don't want to have a Jewish socialist in my cabinet.' He still didn't ask me to join the government. This was his last visit to Europe after World War II, but he assured me he had spent no time seeing the signs or visiting the museums."

The replacement of ideological debate by television gimmicks must have been most painful for him to see the kibbutz movement — certainly Israel's most unique contribution to the human ecology — more sharply aware of the changes of creative life. That the third generation of kibbutzniks should have drifted into the shadowy world of the "grey

market" and financial speculators must have distressed him.

TOWARDS the end, Ya'ari was ailing, so the outside world will never know what he thought of the transition of the kibbutz elite from spartan pioneers to barons of the expense account. The most palpable symbol of his Kibbutz Artzi — which he envisaged as the spearhead of the fight for workers' hegemony — was, for a short time, until its executives sold it, the sleek, modernist skyscraper adjoining Tel Aviv's ZOA House.

Ya'ari was in the forefront of the Communist-front "peace movement" for decades, until Mapam's break with Moscow. Yet he was no pacifist, taking pride in the prominence of his kibbutz federation's sons in elite fighting units.

Reminiscing one day in his Tel Aviv rooms, he spoke proudly of his family's fine military record, his own years in World War I as Oberleutnant Wald in the Imperial Austrian Army, the brilliant IDF career of his son, Aluf Aviezer Ya'ari, who is now about to retire from his command of the General Staff College. The son of his eldest daughter, Rachel, is commander of a crack IDF force.

Ya'ari never completely recovered from the suicide of his youngest son, Haim. His 67-year marriage to Anda was a very happy one and, as she put it this week, "It was love at first sight, and right to the very last."

His special brand of Socialist Zionism grew out of the conclusions he drew from the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with only the Jews not sharing in the liberation of its subject nationalities, powerless victims of pogroms across Eastern Europe.

Prior to World War I, he was a student in the Vienna of Franz Werfel, Gustav Mahler and Sigmund Freud. He transformed Hashomer Hatzair from a romantic scout movement into a radical, pioneering instrument, moving sharply away from Martin Buber's teachings and Gustav Landauer's moderate socialism.

YA'ARI CAME here in 1920, bringing with him a group of followers. They underwent the personal revelation of their fellow immigrants of the Third Aliya — young intellectuals who worked as labourers under physical conditions of extreme privation, but compensated by a heady sense of reshaping the destiny of the

The Red Rebbe

Meir Ya'ari, who died last Saturday, was the last of Israel's founding generation. The *Jerusalem Post's* Political Correspondent Mark Segal profiles the life and ideology of the founder, doyen and ideologist of the Hashomer Hatzair movement, the Kibbutz Artzi federation and its political arm, Mapam.



Jewish people. After toiling as work battalions up and down the country, for seven years, Ya'ari's group founded Kibbutz Merhavim in the Jezreel Valley. He preached the concept of universal salvation through Communism, with Jews taking part only after concentrating in their own territory. He fashioned the Kibbutz Artzi federation into a network of tightly-bound, elitist collective communities — each both a fortress and a spearhead of the movement's ideological warfare. There were those who saw in this credo the creation of a network of monastic

collectives belonging to a secular order.

He forged the doctrine of "collective ideology," whereby individual members of a kibbutz must never deviate from the rules and programmes laid down by the political leadership in any sphere. Deviation incurred expulsion.

IT WAS DURING this early period that Ya'ari made his second "marriage," which also lasted until death. It was to Ya'acov Hazan, leader of the Polish Hashomer Hatzair, who reached this country a few years

after him, founding Kibbutz Mishmar Ha'emek.

Some talked of them in terms of Moses and Aaron — the prophet (Ya'ari) and the high priest (Hazan). They became known as Mapam's "historical leadership," but their authority derived not from their formal positions, but from their personal charisma.

Ya'ari served as Mapam secretary-general for years. Together, they set the line in party and kibbutz affairs for over half a century. Ben-Gurion often complained that a prime difficulty in

dealing with his Mapam coalition partner, was that the two Mapam ministers could never make their own decisions but always had to consult with Ya'ari and Hazan before voting on major issues.

It is noteworthy that these historic leaders never sullied themselves with ministerial responsibility. They preferred that the compromises unavoidable in practical politics be made by their disciples, and it was the second-ranking Mapam leaders who served in the cabinet.

Here is perhaps another parallel with the hasidic and other Orthodox Jewish groups, where the acknowledged rabbinic authorities sent loyal followers into the Knesset to fight their political battles for them.

Talking of internal party democracy, the Speaker of the Second Knesset, late Nahum Nir (Rafael) of Ahdut Ha'avoda, once said:

"My party claims the greatest democracy. In Mapam, one man, Ben-Gurion, decides. In Mapam, there are two — Ya'ari and Hazan. And with us there is a trio — Yitzhak Tabenkin, Yisrael Galili and Yisrael Ben-Yehuda."

IN THE mid-40's, Ya'ari sought to spread his movement's influence, founding urban branches which, together with Kibbutz Artzi, combined into Mapam. They then merged with Ahdut Ha'avoda, which some years earlier had split off from Mapam. It was a union doomed from the outset — the activist Ahdut Ha'avoda and the minimalist Hashomer Hatzair.

Ya'ari had hopes of Mapam's displacing Mapai as the mainstream labour party but today it seems light years since the political scene was dominated by the struggles between the two parties and the thunderous polemics of B-G and Ya'ari.

The turning point for Mapam was, and remains, the time when Stalin gave up on utilizing the Jewish state as an instrument of his expansionist designs. None of the stories of Stalinist atrocities — not even the great show trials of the '30s or the trumped-up Jewish doctors' plot of the '50s — dented Hashomer Hatzair's faith in what they used to call "our second homeland" or "Stalin — the sun of the nations."

The crisis came when Stalin initiated the series of show trials of Jews in prominent positions in the Communist regimes. Mapam left-winger Mordechai Oren of Kibbutz Mizra was dragged into the trials of Czech Jewish Communist leaders when

support of Israeli and Zionism was marked up as a major sin in the Communist catechism.

Part of the world of the indoctrinated Kibbutz Artzi youth was shattered. I can recall my disbelief when visiting a nearby Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz with some of my IDF unit early in 1949. I saw photos of Stalin hanging on the walls of the children's house. When the Six Day War came, the young kibbutzniks found the ground shifting under their heels with the piles of Soviet weapons in Sinai and Russian voices overheard over the Syrian intercom.

GRADUALLY becoming increasingly disenchanted with Soviet-style socialism, Ya'ari brought Mapam into its alignment with Labour. In the intervening years, Mapam's electoral basis has shrunk dramatically. Hashomer Hatzair failed to attune itself to Israel's changing demographic structure. It was as if this historical movement were being left behind, unadjusted to changing times.

In 1984, Mapam broke with Labour in the Knesset, retaining its joint faction in the Histadrut. It is still unclear whether Mapam will go it alone at the next general elections, or try to repair its electoral bloc with its senior partner. However, there are Mapamniks who fear they may be almost wiped out at the polls, victims of the country's deepening polarization. They think the best way to exert any influence is by merging with Labour, thereby bolstering its dovish wing.

Learning to remain the leader of a dwindling minority must have been a tough experience for Meir Ya'ari. But one can only admire the dedicated resolution and remarkable strength of will with which he pursued his goals.

Even those who fought him throughout his career cannot deny his signal contribution to the up-building of Israel and his remarkable role in fashioning such a fine settlement movement as Kibbutz Artzi. When all is said and done, contemplating the flourishing communities his movement set up throughout the land, no one can deny that his elitist system did work.

His life almost spanned the century during which he was at the forefront of the revolution that overtook the Jewish people. He had much to be pleased with. For Meir Ya'ari was, above all, a man of faith right to his last day.

Once more unto the brink

Public Faces / Mark Segal



UZI BARAM



YITZHAK NAVON



EHUD OLMERT

But some of Peres's closest Labour colleagues don't share his enthusiasm for early elections, especially Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Education Minister Yitzhak Navon and Economics and Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi. In sharp contrast to newest recruit Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman, who does.

The Alignment leader's mood improved after reading a copy of London *Times* editor Charles Wilson's "thank-you" letter to our Ambassador to Britain Yehuda Avner, for inviting him to a dinner in honour of Peres on his recent visit to London. Wilson dwelt on how fascinating it was to listen to our foreign minister's command of world politics, adding "I think he should always be called Prime Minister!"

Likud sources accuse Peres of being "unnecessarily provocative" by not delaying his Cairo trip until Shamir's return. They say there could have been an airport meeting, with Peres learning at first-hand about Shamir's talks with President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz before flying off to meet President Hosni Mubarak. Indeed, Likud sources claim that when Shamir met Egyptian Foreign Minister Abdul Maguid at the UN last September, they discussed the advantages of top level talks. Sunday's cabinet meeting promises to be interesting, with both Shamir and Peres reporting on their respective missions.

IT IS NOW A month and a half since the coalition agreement's January 17 deadline to pick the successor to Meir Rosegane as Our Man in Washington. Premier Shamir has declared for Ya'acobi, who tops Peres's short list for the job. For his part, Ya'acobi told me: "At any rate, I definitely refuse to be part of any party appointments package deal. The post of ambassador to Washington is of too much national importance not to be considered on its own merits."

I hear that when Peres earlier told Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Abba Eban, of his plan to appoint 33-year-old Nimrod Nevik as our next envoy to the U.S., he said: "You too were 33 years old when you served there," with Eban replying: "Do you mean that all Israelis aged 33 are fit to be ambassadors in Washington?"

TRAINED ARIK-WATCHERS think Sharon is itching for another war, the way he's sounding the alarm over the Syrians' return to Beirut. In contrast, his two successors, Rabin and Aharan, prefer a wait-and-see policy. Some Likudniks consider that Arik sees the road to the Herut convention going via Beirut.

YITZHAK AND SHULAMIT Shamir were reportedly somewhat discomfited by the welcome they got at the Menachem Begin Jewish school in Los Angeles. When they appeared, the school choir burst into "The Palmah Hymn."

WZO SETTLEMENT department head Nissan Zivli claims that \$10 billion were spent on Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip in the past decade. He feels that if only 50 per cent of this amount had been spent elsewhere, Israeli agriculture would not now be in such dire straits.

LABOUR'S TOP seven needn't fear early elections — their Knesset seats are automatically assured. Unlike the others they won't have to face the 1,200-member central committee vote. I've learned that party convention standing committee chairman MK David Libai slipped in a key resolution at a 8.30 a.m. morning session. It stipulated that the list will be headed by party chairman Peres "and two haverim be so chooses" — Rabin and either Navon

or Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev. Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel is next and Weizman follows under the deal with Yahad. The Histadrut Secretary-General Israel Kessar and Labour Secretary-General Uzi Baram.

LOBBYING IS increasing as the five-year-long term of Israel Broadcasting Authority's NRP chairman Micha Yonon and the other six managing committee members ends on April 1. Yonon's likely successor is Labour's Dr. Israel Peleg, who is Peres's nominee, since Navon's candidate Ron Feinstein doesn't want the job. Rabin's man, ex-Herutia mayor Yosef Nevo is contesting Peleg. The Likud's three members will be David Men'at and Shaul Amor — both Shamir men — plus a Liberal. No. 7 will come from either the NRP or Shas.

CONCERNED FOR the independence of the post of attorney-general, ex-justice minister Haim Zadok hinted at incumbent Yosef Harish when he said, "It's especially so when the incumbent is less talented and less strong than his predecessors." Zadok was talking on "Security and the Law" at the memorial meeting on the third anniversary of the death of the late Bank Hapoalim and Aampal chairman Ya'acov Levinson.

This was the first time that the bank rather than Aampal, had sponsored the memorial ceremony, together with Beit Berl, the Labour movement college, and Levinson's widow, Nurit, and the family. Uzi Baram said were Levinson still alive the Histadrut sector would not be in such difficulties. Both he and Bank Hapoalim chairman Amram Sivan mourned Levinson's untimely death and the loss of his leadership qualities. Sivan became bank chairman as a result of the Justice Moshe Bejale commission, which also resulted in Meir Hersh becoming Bank Leumi chairman. His presence at the memorial aroused attention, because his predecessor, Ernest Japhet was on such bad terms with the deceased.

MORE THAN 10,000 people signed petitions urging electoral reform at tables set up in various cities manned by volunteers from the Committee for Concerned Citizens led by Zelda Harris and the Aci's Ira Cohen. Signatories included Minister Ya'acobi, MKs Ehud Olmert and Uriel Lysan, and Mayors Teddy Kollek, Shlomo (Chick) Lahat and Rafi Hochman (Elit).

WORLD WIZO PRESIDENT Raya Jaglom was promised that Ida Nadel will be allowed on aliyah at the latest, by next year, by Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee head Samuel Ziva when they met in Geneva last week, where he was attending the UN Human Rights Commission. He reassured her that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev wished to

change Soviet policy, not only its image.

THE ARTHUR RUBINSTEIN International Music Society, chaired by banker Zelman Sheval brought the Tel Aviv Campus Orchestra, directed by Sam Zehava, in an all-Beethoven programme to mark the maestro's centenary in the Hativa quarter's Beit Dami community centre. The concert was under Mayor Lahat's patronage. Despite the way Lahat put himself and City Hall out for the IPO's jubilee, it appears that IPO secretary-general Avi Shoshani ignored city councilors when sending out invitations to his jubilee concert. Lahat protested this omission in a critical letter to Shoshani, who apologized for "this slip."

JUST RETIRED Ambassador to Vienna Michael Elitzur hopes Israel-Austria relations will soon be back to normal. He complained that the affair over Austrian President Kurt Waldheim was launched by WJC President Edgar Bronfman and his executive director Israel Singer without consulting anyone else. Elitzur was speaking at the annual general meeting of the Israel, Britain and the

Commonwealth Association where John Furman was re-elected chairman.

TWO PROMINENT activists in the British Labour Party's left-wing — Lord Mayor of Manchester Kath Robinson, and Valerie Dunn, leader of the city council's Labour majority have returned home with "a different view of Israel." They were invited here by the British-Israel Public Affairs Committee, whose local staffer Linda Levin and hubby, Yigal, British Old Society general manager, gave a dinner in their honour at their home. The two Labourites were also stewarded around Histadrut enterprises by Dr. Rafi Barkan of its international department.

GIVING BAD TASTE a bad name, the Eked publishing company has caused a literary scandal by printing a book of poetry *Narkis* under the bogus name of an imaginary fallen soldier, Ilan Even, with a preface by an imaginary Prof. Morshovsky. The actual author is Alex Kaminsky 54, a citrus industry clerk, son of the late Yosef Kaminsky, the first violinist of the Palestine Philharmonic.



CONGRATULATIONS JERUSALEM!

A competition celebrating the 20th anniversary of Jerusalem's reunification (May 27, 1987)

Readers of The Jerusalem Post are invited to participate in CONGRATULATIONS JERUSALEM — an international competition co-sponsored by The Jerusalem Post and the Moriah Jerusalem Hotel. To enter, submit a written, visual or other expression that congratulates Jerusalem on the 20th anniversary of its reunification.

TWO FIRST PRIZES (one for readers in Israel, one for readers overseas): A week for two, bed and breakfast at the Moriah Jerusalem Hotel (the overseas winner will also win one round-trip ticket — departing from New York or major European cities — courtesy of the Moriah Jerusalem Hotel).

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TWO THIRD PRIZES (one Israeli, one overseas): A copy of Front Page Israel 1932-1986, a volume of historical front pages of The Jerusalem Post.

CONTEST RULES

- 1) One entry per contestant will be accepted.
- 2) All entries must be mailed to CONGRATULATIONS JERUSALEM, the Moriah Jerusalem Hotel, 39 Keren Hayesod St., Jerusalem 94188, Israel. Contestants are responsible for shipping and handling.
- 3) Entries must be received by the Moriah Jerusalem not later than April 15, 1987.
- 4) Entries will be chosen by jury based on originality and creativity.
- 5) Entries will not be returned. A selection will be given to the mayor of the city.
- 6) Employees and their families of The Jerusalem Post and Moriah Hotels Israel are not eligible.

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NEWS

About Raoul Wallenberg!

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DEFENCE

BY THE MIDDLE of March, the government is due to give a response to the Pentagon's proposals for an alternative to the Lavi. The choices are clear. Does Israel accept one of Dr. Dov Zakheim's proposals for the Israel Air Force's next generation fighter? Or do we continue with the development of the Lavi?

Although the Lavi this week completed its 15th test flight, performing beyond the expectations of its greatest admirers and to the grudging respect of its many detractors, the arguments over the plane's future are no less vociferous now than they were when the plane was only a dream on paper. American opposition, as expressed with undisguised clarity by Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger to Congress last week, is more determined than ever. In Israel, the plane has few friends in the General Staff, and in the Defence Ministry itself there are many, including, some say, the minister's financial adviser, who have come to oppose its continued development.

Ironically, the Lavi's performance 32,000 feet above the rising decibels of the debate, has little to do with its future. In question is not the Lavi's performance — even the Pentagon is complimentary about that — but its economic viability.

The truth is not easy to come by. This reporter, who has spent over two weeks speaking to dozens of people closely involved with every level of the project, has been constantly dismayed by the different sets of figures used to prove opposing points of view — and all with equal conviction. As they say, nothing like statistics. Thus, notwithstanding the deluge of calculations, the enigma remains: can Israel afford the Lavi or, conversely, can Israel afford to be without it?

THE MORE familiar one becomes with the Lavi, the more one is convinced of the plane's genius. It is not just another aircraft. It is, indeed, the copywriters like to say, an aircraft born in battle. Unlike every other Western fighter that has been developed in recent years, including those on the drawing boards, the Lavi is not an air-superiority fighter. It is a ground-attack aircraft with high penetrability and high survivability factors. It is equipped to defend itself in the air, but this is not its primary function.

Israel's problem with its enemies is not in the air, but on the ground. The IAF has, and will retain, decisive air superiority to any Arab air force, or combination of air forces, whether it has the Lavi or not. The question is whether Israel's standing army, very small in relation to those of the potential confrontation states, and its limited reserves, will be able to stop a determined Arab attack on the ground. There is no question that in order to do so, brain, not brawn, will be needed to equalize the odds.

The Lavi, if it is built, will be a crucial factor in achieving that purpose. On that there is general consensus. The Lavi was built with the lesson in mind that in the Yom Kippur War, Israel lost 102 aircraft — over 20 per cent of the air force —

almost exclusively to ground-to-air missiles, in attempting to provide close ground support for its embattled forces. It is also remembered that the war cost Israel 2,838 killed and 8,000 wounded.

A PLANE that could penetrate enemy air defences with impunity, carry a heavy load to pinpointed targets and return safely to base to be quickly refuelled and reloaded, was considered an essential tool in any future war. The Lavi, according to all the experts, is the best thing available anywhere in the world today to carry out that mission.

It is under half the size of the Phantom, yet can carry the same load, and deliver it with infinitely more accuracy. Its performance in the air is equal to that of the F-16, but its air-to-ground capabilities are far greater.

This, as one top executive involved in the project explained last week, is not because "four million Israelis are smarter than 250 million Americans," but because the Lavi was a synthesis of an urgent need and the ability of a highly-skilled and ingenious military industrial complex to respond to it. To prove his point he recalled the American response to the challenges of World War II. More weapons were developed in three years than in the three decades preceding the war. In face of the need, the U.S. military aviation industry advanced light years in a matter of months.

The Lavi represents the composite knowledge of hundreds of pilots who have flown operational missions during four decades of perennial war. They have worked hand-in-hand with the plane's developers from the outset. Not a single detail of the project has been evolved without Air Force participation. The controversial decision to change the engine from a GE-404 to a more powerful PW-1120, turning the Lavi into something far more grandiose than was originally contemplated, was a response to an Air Force demand. The avionics, electronics and weapon systems are all specific air force requirements, not the results of technical inventiveness taking science to new horizons for science's sake.

THE LAVI has new technologies, such as its digital, four-channel, fly-by-wire system, and its self-protection systems, but its real breakthrough is not in any specific system, but in the way those technologies have been integrated.

Its aerodynamic performance is the result not of any spectacular breakthrough in design, but of its brain and body being tuned into a synchronized whole that will respond with maximum efficiency to any given task. Its computers, not the pilot, will calculate the best alignment of its nine independently moving flying surfaces at any given time. The pilot will give the instruction; the plane will translate this into action, making its own decisions as to how best to handle itself.

In a threat situation, the Lavi's sensors will relay all the information to a central brain that will analyse it,

All systems go?

The government is due to make a decision on the future of the Lavi fighter plane in the next few weeks. *The Jerusalem Post's* Defence Correspondent Hirsh Goodman says to cancel it will be disastrous. Not to cancel it could be disastrous. The enigma remains: can Israel afford the Lavi, can Israel afford to be without it?



The Lavi's first test flight; technicians working on the Lavi prototype No. 1.



(Micha Bar-Am)

assign its priority and decide how best to present it to the pilot, thus circumventing one of the pilot's major problems in today's battlefield: information overload.

In other aircraft, especially those where additional capabilities have been incorporated as the aircraft ages, the pilot is faced with a stream of constantly-changing information, presented on a variety of displays. In the Lavi, the pilot only gets what he needs to know in order to deal with the most acute situations first.

THE LIST of the plane's attributes is endless. No matter what its future,

the Lavi is a tribute not only to Israeli industry and technology, but to the country's ability to organize to make it a flying reality.

None of this would have been possible, however, without American aid. The lion's share of the \$1.4 billion that has been spent to send the Lavi's chief test pilot, Menahem Shmul, into the air, came from the American taxpayer, against the wishes of the Pentagon, and with mixed feelings on the part of Israel's closest friends in the administration. Israel has also benefited tremendously from American willingness to share its technologies,

and the openness with which this has been done. That the Lavi will be shelved if this changes is undeniable.

But it is also undeniable that the Lavi is making its contribution to the U.S. Over \$750 million will be spent during its development, and \$4.68 billion more during production, with dozens of American companies in 36 states.

Just as Israel has benefited from American technology, Israeli design specifications and technology-sharing with American companies has been a significant contribution to the advancement of these industries. We have learned from them, but

they have also learned from us. The Lavi thus constitutes, in many ways, what one would suppose strategic cooperation between allies is all about — the sharing of knowledge and resources for their mutual benefit in defence of a common cause. While there is a clear interest among the powerful American aerospace industries to have Israel purchase off-the-shelf F-16s from General Dynamics, or F-15s and F-18s from McDonnell Douglas (which perhaps goes a long way to explain the Pentagon's attitude) it cannot be in America's wider interest to have Israel retarded technologically by turning it into a client rather than a partner.

The Pentagon's alternatives to the Lavi were studied politely here, but not considered viable. It is not considered feasible to set up an infrastructure for the production of F-16s here, nor was it at all clear whether General Dynamics would agree to such an arrangement.

The suggestion that the Lavi's avionics be integrated into the F-16 has some merit (one system is already in the F-16Cs that started arriving here last month). This, however, will not turn the F-16 into the hybrid close-ground-support aircraft this country's strategists, when they decided on the Lavi, considered so necessary for the future conduct of war.

IF ALL THIS is so, why the opposition to the aircraft among the Israeli military, including some levels of the air force itself?

Put simply, the feeling is that if Israel goes ahead with the Lavi, it may end up with the best ground-support aircraft in the world, but with virtually no ground forces to support it.

The project will, once production starts, consume a minimum of 30 per cent of the total U.S. aid package, and a growing percentage of the local defence budget. The army, some feel, is already dangerously under-trained, under-staffed and under-armed. The navy, the armoured corps, the intelligence community, all need additional resources to maintain qualitative parity, while stockpiles, slashed during six years of budget cuts, need upgrading and replenishing.

An upgraded F-16C may not be utopian, but it is more than adequate to deal with specific foreseeable threats and superior to anything in enemy arsenals. Moreover, if all Israel's military development resources are devoted to the Lavi, the country's other military industries will suffer to the point of near collapse. The situation at Rafael, the Weapons Development Authority, where mass firings have taken place of late, is but one example cited.

But will the cancellation of the Lavi solve all the IDF's other problems?

F-16s will still cost money. The 75 F-16Cs arriving here now, for example, cost \$3 billion, or \$42 million per plane, as opposed to the \$18 million for the Lavi quoted by the U.S. Government Accounting Office' report last week.

The remaining aid funds will, in

the long run, not go far towards solving the army's myriad problems. In all probability, whatever savings there are will be spread so thin and in so many directions, that the net result will be diluted to minimum efficiency.

MANY OF THE arguments now being used by the generals against the Lavi were used against the Kfir. Since then, not only has the Kfir performed an invaluable task with the IAF, it has generated \$1 billion in exports and brought Israeli technology to new thresholds. The Kfir's technologies gave added life-spans and greater combat efficiency to Israel's Skyhawks and Phantoms, and led to countless spin-offs that have made weapons more efficient at every stratum of battle.

The Lavi has the same potential. Its radar alone has already generated tens of millions of dollars in exports of derivatives. Its digital fuel systems are being used in other aircraft. Its software and protection systems have been the objects of intense interest from many quarters around the world.

In answer to the argument that since these systems have already been developed they could be sold without pursuing the Lavi project, history has proven otherwise. No Israeli-made weapon that has not been selected by the IDF has been sold abroad. After all, why should anyone want to buy a radar made in Israel, when the Israeli air force itself has opted for a foreign product?

WHO KNOWS what the correct decision must be? The stakes, either way, are tremendous.

To cancel will be disastrous: not to cancel could be disastrous. The goal should be to retain the Lavi, which all agree is indisputably the correct answer to Israel's future defence, technological and industrial needs, and at the same time create the circumstances that will make the project economically viable.

To throw away what has been achieved because it is expedient at the moment, which is the easiest way, would not only be ludicrous; it would be self-defeating.

The Lavi has a great deal in it that could be of use to those countries in the West faced with exactly the same Soviet air-defence systems as Israel. The American navy is looking for an aircraft that has many of the Lavi's qualities. Logic would dictate that a marriage could be arranged somewhere within the range of possibilities that would be to the benefit of all parties.

To make this a reality, however, will require more than logic. It will require a firm decision by the Israeli government to go ahead with the Lavi; the Israeli air force and military to express their confidence in the plane; and a clear statement from Israel to the U.S. that it intends to go ahead with the project.

Once that has been done, the energies of the cabinet can be diverted from debating the future of the Lavi, to how to make it the integral part of Israel's future it so obviously can be.

THE MAD logic by which Beirut has bombed itself back into the tribal age took a momentous new turn this week, when Syria sent in tanks and commandos like an annoyed neighbour coming to complain about the noise.

According to Dr. Avraham Sela of the Hebrew University, Syria is likely to be making a lot of noise of its own in Beirut as it bangs heads together, before things get much quieter.

Sela believes that the Syrian move is in Israel's, no less than Syria's and Lebanon's, interests. "If 10,000 Syrian soldiers are kept busy in Beirut for an unlimited time," he said in an interview this week, "they're welcome to it. If they assume more responsibility, we will profit from it. We keep striking at targets but there has been no one there to impose authority."

The seemingly chaotic street brawl known as the Lebanese Situation does, in fact, follow an orderly pattern wherein the supreme interest of the numerous contenders is to ensure that none of the other factions — including one's allies of the moment — gets too strong. If that should occur, the players realign themselves.

It is a pattern faithfully followed since the civil war broke out in 1975. It was broken for a brief spell when Israel imposed its New Order in 1982 and uprooted the PLO which had achieved dominance in West Beirut. When Israel pulled out of Beirut and its surroundings, the ethnic armies of Lebanon rushed in to fill the vacuum. This time the Amal militia of the Shi'ites, largest but most discredited of the ethnic communities, began to play a major role.

Syria supported Amal and provided it with tanks and political support, notes Sela, an expert on inter-

A new order for Lebanon

Abraham Rabinovich

Arab relations. Amal, however, did not organize itself fast enough to assert itself in the Palestinian refugee camps which had been neutralized by Israel. The Christians began assisting Palestinian fighters to return to Lebanon through the Christian port of Jounieh — the same Christians with whom Israel had coordinated its invasion of Lebanon in order to uproot the armed power of the Palestinians.

In their seemingly incredible turnaround, the Christians were, in fact, faithfully following the Lebanese game of blocking the way to the top of the mountain of any rising force. In this case, it was Amal that had to be blocked. The Druze, who had formed an alliance with Amal, likewise pulled aside when it sensed Amal becoming too strong, says Sela.

EVENTS BEGAN to come to a head during the recent War of the Camps in which Amal tried to break the back of armed Palestinian resistance in the refugee camps in Beirut and Sidon. Despite the Shi'ites' superiority in manpower, they could not do it. "The Palestinians proved better fighters and they had more motivation," says Sela.

In addition, a broad coalition had

begun forming around the resurgent Palestinians, including the fundamentalist Shi'ite Hizbullah and Sunni groups. The badly-split Palestinians themselves had begun to show unity under Amal pressure with the so-called pro-Syrian factions joining with their erstwhile arch-enemies, the Arafat-loyal wing of Fatah, in defence of the camps.

Sela believes that the Syrian entry into Beirut, officially carried out at the request of Lebanese government leaders (but not the Christians among them), had in fact been brewing in Syrian leader Hafez Assad's mind for some time. Amal leader Nabih Berri has been living in Damascus for months while apparently attempting to persuade Assad to intervene. "What most disturbed Assad was the weakness of his client, Amal," says Sela. "He saw the Palestinians supposedly loyal to him, joining up with Arafat. He feared that he would lose control of the situation and be forced into making some political compromise with the Palestinians. This he is not willing to do."

The seriousness of Syria's intentions to bring order to Beirut is reflected, Sela believes, by the remark of Syria's intelligence chief in

Lebanon, Ghazi Kana'an, that whoever opposes Syrian forces will be killed. In their first few days in Beirut, the Syrians have already demonstrated their muscle in armed clashes.

"For the Palestinians, the Syrian entry poses a real dilemma," says Sela. "In the past, the Syrians never entered the refugee camps to disarm the Palestinians. They seem to me this time to be taking a tougher stance than in the past. The choice that the Palestinians face is almost one of surrender or suicide and they are very frightened. They have ordered an alert and so has Hizbullah."

Syria's strategic objective in Lebanon, Sela says, is to exercise a decisive say in security matters and to render it a client state. Assad's government, however, has no desire to maintain large forces in Beirut on policing duties. The Syrian economy is in dire straits, notes Sela, and bloody encounters with Palestinians and other Sunnis in Beirut are likely to fan the hatred of the Moslem Brotherhood in Syria itself against the regime in Damascus.

In addition, the likely casualties the Syrian forces will suffer will make an extended stay unpopular in Syria. "They want to have remote control," says Sela. "I think we will soon see the Syrian foreign minister in Beirut bringing the heads of the various communities together."

If the Syrians succeed in imposing order in Beirut, Sela believes they will attempt to impose a new order based on a new Lebanese constitution and a redivision of ethnic political power that would more accurately reflect demographic realities. "One of the main problems in Lebanon has been the lack of clarity in the division of political power," notes Sela. He thinks this phase might come next year when the current six-year term of President Jemayel expires and new elections are scheduled.

As long as Syria does not attempt to introduce anti-aircraft missiles into the Beirut area or to deploy its forces too close to Israel's border, Sela believes that Jerusalem has no reason to regret the return of the Syrian army to Beirut five years after it was ousted from there by the IDF.

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He was the Henry Ford of fine art

Andy Warhol, 'one of the top three figures in art after the era of Picasso,' injected a badly-needed element of fun into an otherwise overly sombre field, S.T. Meravi reports.

ANDY WARHOL got his 15 minutes and more.

The central figure of the American pop art movement, who died this week at age 59 in New York of complications following a gall-bladder operation, Warhol always seemed to draw as much derision as acclaim. But to the man who once predicted that in the age of mindless consumerism and media-hype everyone would eventually be famous for a quarter of an hour, the ridicule was as much a part of the fabulous name-game as praise.

Warhol, after all, was the man who built a career by turning the bag inside out. He seemed to glorify what the *cultural* had been conditioned to disdain, to suggest that the taste of the masses was really exquisitely tuned. Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe were democratically-elected gods: fill a wall with multiple silk-screen prints showing their visages and you celebrate not only the icons, but the people who erected them.

In other words, pop art. Or take a common consumer item like a box of soup-powder or a tin of condensed soup, reproduce it precisely on canvas, put a frame around it, and the banal becomes art, the mundane a masterpiece, the boring interesting.

In other words, pop art. Or take it to its logical conclusion. In an era in which art is an investment, what better subject for an artist than the most desirable engraving in the world? The Warhol picture that earned the most money was a Warhol picture of money; a painting depicting 200 one-dollar bills that was auctioned in New York last year for \$385,000.

In other words, pop art.

BY ALL accounts, including his own, Andy Warhol was determined to earn pots of money and to become famous. He sold his own image, not only by producing self-portraits, but by renting his face to magazine advertisements. (Shortly after he first appeared in an ad for cameras, he announced that he was available for advertising anything.)

In order to get enough Warholiana on the market, he rented a vast warehouse, artlessly dubbed "the Factory," where an assortment of kinky and counter-cultural assistants mass-produced his screenprints. He became the Henry Ford of fine art. And then, as if to prove no single medium could contain him, Warhol branched out.

He produced, for example, scores of experimental or "underground" movies, featuring such semi-professionals as Ultra Violet, Holly Woodlawn and Ingrid Superstar. Among his most memorable, if mind-numbing, films were *Empire*, which consisted of a single eight-hour camera shot of the Empire State Building, and *Sleep*, a six-hour film essay on a slumbering man.

He also published a novel called *a*, the title possibly referring to the final vowel unaccountably dropped early on by the artist who was born Andrew Warhola, and the text consisting of hundreds of pages of incoherent tape-recorder transcripts. Later, he founded a successful flash magazine called *Interview*. He also launched and nurtured the progressive rock group, Velvet Underground.

Finally, in what was probably the quintessential act of pop notoriety, Warhol nearly got himself murdered. In 1968, a Warhol "Factory" hand and film actress named Valerie



'I'd been eating soup for lunch for 20 years, so I painted it.'

Solaris pumped a bullet into his brain. After hovering near death for several days, the artist pulled through, but the shooting left him with impaired speech and, some suggested, impaired faculties.

In a typically Warholian remark, the artist said later: "I always suspected that I was watching myself on TV instead of living life. Right when I was being shot, and ever since, I knew I was watching TV."

BORN IN Pittsburgh to immigrants from Czechoslovakia, Warhol studied painting and design at Carnegie Institute of Technology and then moved to New York. There he lived with his mother (he never married) and became, significantly enough, a successful commercial artist, doing such conventional work as drawing I. Miller shoes for newspaper advertisements.

He reportedly worked relentlessly, both at his craft and at promoting himself. Then came the Sizzling Sixties, with its explosion in pop music and pop culture and, in a very real sense, pop money. Warhol decided the time was ripe for declaring the artifacts of the consumer society pop art.

Warhol helped shape the 1960s, but he was just as much one of its products. Vibrant art movements like abstract expressionism seemed to have reached a pause; in their place came a detached and often chillingly intellectual minimalism. Pollock was dead, Picasso would soon follow, and no innovators were on the horizon to take their place. Just as in the 1960s the grumpy-length skirt co-existed with the mini and the midi, so the artists offered everything, all at once. Critics tied themselves into Talmudic knots in an

effort to promote this or that new contender for the crown—at least for 15 minutes.

In this period of indeterminacy, painting seemed more confused, more bizarre, and more remote from the public than ever before. In response, Warhol, along with others like Oldenburg of the giant hamburger and Lichtenstein of the blown-up comic strip, seemed to tell the public that it was just fine to cherish the comfortably familiar trash of their culture. The Campbell-soup can and the multiple Presley images were the graphic equivalent of the raucous, off-key singer and the saccharine greeting-card poet.

THAT THESE offerings were also a subversive comment on the society seemed to escape the public's attention. At most, the masses might laugh, and the one who drew the most laughs was Warhol. Accordingly, with hair painted a metallic silver and a voice emanating as from a computer (he often said he wished he was a machine), Andy entertained his public. He once explained his fascination with soup cans by

saying that an art teacher had advised him to paint what was important to him. "I'd been eating soup for lunch for 20 years," he said, "so I painted it."

Warhol and the other practitioners of pop art for a while injected a badly-needed element of fun into an otherwise overly sober realm of art. If they mythologized the quotidian, they also demythologized art and the artist, and if by doing so they reduced some artificial barriers between creator and viewer, that is all to their credit.

In doing so, they were not without precedent. Warhol, for example, has been compared to the Dadaist, Marcel Duchamp, with his "ready-made" art objects. Acknowledging the debt, Warhol was making a film about Duchamp at the time of the Dadaist's death.

Yet for all the fun and freakiness, for all the promotion and posturing, Warhol had things to say. And his statements were right there on the surface of his work, even as he was ostensibly celebrating the shallowness of the consumer-mad, media-mad society.

If he drew what he knew, he drew what everyone knew. But being overwhelmed by room after room of consumer items and culture heroes, as at the first major Warhol retrospective (at New York's Whitney Museum in 1971), the viewer was forced to consider certain aspects of life anew, and that is certainly one of the objectives of art.

Israeli art historian Gideon Efrat says he was inspired to write his doctoral dissertation on definitions of art by a dialogue with Warhol on just that subject.

"Warhol was clearly among the top three figures in art after the era of Picasso," Efrat says. "He always pushed the frontiers further than his contemporaries did. He inspired more artists, and for that matter, more thinkers, than any other artist of his time. And his influence is still being felt—in the U.S., in Europe, in Israel."

Thus for all his playing against the conventional concepts of art, Andy Warhol earned his place in the pantheon. And for more than 15 minutes.

The night the plan came together

Telereview / Philip Gillon

COLONEL HANNIBAL Smith of *The A-Team* exclaims, whenever one of his complicated schemes eventually succeeds in vanquishing the forces of darkness, "I love it when a plan comes together." On Friday night I had the rare experience of declaring, "I love it when a night's programming comes together."

After the religious programme, the *Mubur* news magazine gave us some very good, although gloomy, items, highlighted by Gil Sade's coverage of what the occupation of the West Bank is doing to the Israeli soldiers who serve there. This was the reverse side of the coin to the British programme on Jordan that I reviewed last week, which concentrated on the devastating effects of the occupation on the Arabs. Here

we were presented with the Israeli point of view by some very good-looking officers.

They explained why they end up shooting children. First they try shooting in the air over anybody attacking them, then at the legs, eventually at the bodies. A rock can be a very painful weapon, and it does not hurt less if it is thrown by a 14-year-old instead of an adult. One officer stressed that all the IDF wants is that the population should preserve law and order, and then there will be no shooting, no curfews, no arrests, no ill-treatment.

Now where have we heard such sentiments before? Spokesmen for the South African regime have repeatedly used exactly these words about the black population of the townships. So, for that matter, did

the British Mandatory officials when talking about the stiff-necked Jewish population of the very land in which we now dwell in freedom.

The Israeli officers ascribed the unrest to influences from "outside"—presumably, they meant Fatah operating from some remote Arab land. It is amazing, considering how firm the iron hand of Yitzhak Rabin is supposed to be, that the officers were able to point out pro-Fatah graffiti on the walls, urging the Arabs to withhold their labour from Jewish enterprises across the Green Lines. If our control is so strong, when on earth are these graffiti written? By whom?

An Arab countered the contention that sinister outside influences are at work by saying that the Arabs in the areas have no need of such influence: he claimed that the entire population is united in its hatred of the occupation.

Another excellent but depressing

item was Eliezer Ya'ari's reportage about the emigration of young secular graduates from the Holy City. Israel Drori, a university graduate, and his wife are off to Haifa, because there are no opportunities for them in Jerusalem. Professor Amiram Gonen, the geographer, explained that Jerusalem had missed the boat because it had failed to establish high-tech and similar industries to provide opportunities for highly-skilled graduates.

Drori's family have lived in Jerusalem for generations, and his father, who has travelled everywhere in the world, says he prefers Jerusalem to any other city he has ever seen. The loss of the young man is a great blow to Jerusalem.

Several other young people said that they cannot bear the increasing "hardening" of the Holy City. Journalist Kobi Niv moved to the wicked city of the plain and found he could live a full, free life again. I must admit, when I happened to be in Tel Aviv recently on a Saturday, and saw how everyone is free to do his or her own thing, I felt rather like a visitor from another planet.

One thing is clear. Those of us who love Jerusalem above our chief joy, and yet appreciate mutual tolerance and the right of everyone to choose their own way to live, should endeavor scientists to discover the elixir of life, so as to give some of it to Teddy.

THESE ITEMS had made us suitably solemn for a Friday night—then came the uplift provided by the best

programme Meni Pe'er has ever done. First there was that American sailor, Jason Stabing, a very good singer indeed, assuring us that, whatever happens, we've got a friend. After that a Jewish chaplain from the Sixth Fleet showed us that the U.S. Navy has recognized the Magen David as official insignia for these servicemen.

And then came a marvellous song, with top Jewish and Arab pop singers, plus their children, singing "We want peace," and an end to fear. I tell you, I had a lump in my throat. After the two films about the horrors of the occupation, it was inspiring to hear a song about a grass-roots desire for Jews and Arabs to get together and put an end to these idiotic wars which are causing so much bloodshed and misery on both sides.

Cynics may dismiss the song as sentimental saccharine, and may point out the wide gap between its vision and that of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. But I believe that it does express a deep desire among the people. Somebody who had been at Ulpian Akiva in Netanya phoned me to say how dramatic were the instances of Jews and Arabs getting together there. We have the inspiring example of Neveh Shalom. All over the country we do have thousands of examples of Jews and Arabs working amicably together.

Sentimental or not, a song can have a terrific impact. I still remember the effect of seeing on TV hundreds of thousands singing *We Shall Overcome* at the Martin Luther King rally in Washington. Perhaps we may see a similar phenomenon in Israel with this song.

Finally, we got the eighth wonder of the world, Goldie Hawn, in *Foul Play*. She made it a Friday night to

remember. My heart bleeds for my Orthodox friends who missed it.

SECOND LOOK was devoted this week to the attack by Israeli planes and torpedo-boats on the *Liberty*, the U.S. spy-ship, during the Six Day War. As far as I am aware, this was the first coverage we have ever had explaining the series of errors that led to this calamitous action on the part of our air force and navy. Israel's top officers and men involved in the action spoke freely about what went wrong, and why they thought they were launching their onslaught on an Egyptian destroyer.

What was lacking was an official American explanation of what the *Liberty* was doing in the middle of mighty battles between the Israelis and the Egyptians. We heard from several men who served on the *Liberty* of what it was like to be attacked mercilessly for no apparent reason, but they never told us what the ship's function was. Nor did any top American brass. After the lapse of nearly 20 years, some explanation from the Americans is due.

All these programmes were a natural prelude to the theme of *Ennace Free* which was the decline in Israeli norms and morals. After my criticism of Menashe Raz for attacking Arye Dulzin in his last programme, I hasten to emphasize that he handled this one perfectly, with complete objectivity.

The theme, outlined by Prof. Yirmeyahu Yovel, was the acceptance that anything goes, provided it is within the strict and narrow framework of the law. He analysed very cogently the differences between law, accepted custom and moral norms.

Everyone was agreed that there has been a vast decline in standards. Morality, idealism, being a light unto the gentiles—these are for the birds. Anything goes, as long as it brings in some dough, preferably unearned. As the song in *Cabaret* put it so well, it's money, money, money that makes the world go round.

A great deal of the criticism, naturally, arose from the raids on Bank Leumi's till by Ernest Japhet and his fellow-privateers. There were similar raids on Ats. And Dr. Simha Werner recalled the way in which former premiers, Levi Eshkol and Menachem Begin, pardoned instances of corruption. Dr. Werner believed the rot set in after the Yom Kippur War. I personally believe that it was the occupation that corrupted the national soul.

But I hasten to assert, lest my own bank manager should get the wrong impression, that I have nothing but love and admiration for bankers. I agree wholeheartedly with Ogden Nash's marvellous poem, *Bankers are Just Like Everyone Else. Except Richer*.

Nash wrote: "This is a song to celebrate banks. Please do not think that I am not fond of banks, because they deserve our appreciation and thanks. Because they perform a valuable public service in eliminating the jackasses who go around saying that health and happiness are everything and money isn't essential. Because as soon as they have to borrow some unimportant money to maintain their health and happiness they starve to death so they can't go around any more sneering at good old money, which is nothing short of providential."

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First-hand Holocaust evidence

Biggest show in town: State of Israel versus John Demjanjuk

Bernard Josephs

WHATEVER ELSE IT may be, the Ivan the Terrible war crimes trial is, without question, where the action is. As the evidence has become more harrowing, so the public has filled the hall at the Biyenevi Ha'tuma in ever larger numbers.

Extra seats were put in, but they were not sufficient to accommodate the crowds that formed every morning, long before the hearing was due to start. Now the proceedings are to be relayed on closed-circuit TV for those who can't get in.

"It is as if nothing was ever published about the Holocaust. People are reacting as if they were hearing these things for the first time," said a journalist from London, one of many representatives from the world's news media who have been crowding the gallery of the hall with their cameras and cables.

In fact, it is the knowledge that we may be hearing first-hand evidence about the Holocaust for the last time

that has spurred the steady groundswell of public interest in "Criminal case number 86, State of Israel versus Ivan (John), son of Nicolai, Demjanjuk."

The survivors are in their 60s, as are their former tormentors. What is happening in Jerusalem now may be the final act in the horrifying theatre of the real that began with the Eichmann trial.

And today's young generation will be the last to witness the awesome sight of apparently ordinary men and women describing how they survived conditions that the human mind can hardly grasp.

Words and phrases testifying to the unimaginability of what they went through, have dropped off frequently in the evidence of the survivors who have taken the witness stand so far.

"It is... inconceivable... the brain cannot take in such things," they said. Yet they were there. For those

who were not, their horrific stories sounded at times like voices from another world.

"How can this be?" asked a young soldier, one of a group to attend the trial on Wednesday. "I know it's true, but Rosenberg (one of the survivors) is standing there, talking, breathing like you or me. How can anyone emerge from a place like Treblinka and still resemble a human being?"

The banality of evil, the phrase born during the Eichmann trial to describe the architect of mass murder, was revived. A new generation was learning that those who went to their deaths were similar to ourselves. And so, it can be argued, were the killers. The question is who will be left to teach those who come later?

"I listen to the trial on my car radio when I haven't got a passenger," said a Jerusalem taxi driver. "What his me is the contrast between the description that I'm hearing and the things I'm seeing around me. It is a tremendous shock to see

kids running in the sun, playing with their friends, while hearing how other kids ran naked and freezing to the gas chambers. Sometimes I can't bear it. How can the world go on as usual when just a few metres away such words are being spoken?"

In the world at large too, the trial and the evidence it has produced has had the impact of a bombshell. The BBC's Paul Reynolds intended to accompany Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to Cairo. He packed his bags and was ready to go when London told him to stay put at the trial.

"I was not surprised," he said. "I was talking to one of the girls who records my dispatches in London. She said that they had been horrified but spellbound by reports of the hearing."

"The evidence is dramatic both historically and on a human level. I sit there in court in a kind of trance. I'm affected by what is said at the immediate moment, and to see the actual survivors standing there is traumatic. But the most important

thing is to report and tell about these things."

Some foreign journalists have been stunned both by the evidence and the demands from home for large amounts of copy. "They don't live with the Holocaust like you do here. What is happening is that for many people this evidence is real news," said one.

"Sure they know about the camps, they know about the six million. But they don't know the details."

"Most of our readers were born after the war. Many were born after the Eichmann trial. They are shocked, disturbed by the evidence. Who would not be?"

The educators had hoped the trial would serve to teach a new generation of Israelis what happened to their grandparents in Europe. It seems they underestimated the power of a terrible past. Though the TV cameras may get in the way, their filming of the trial has given people all over the world the chance to see once more - or for the first time - what man is capable of doing.



Treblinka death camp survivor Pinhas Epstein wipes a tear as he testifies at the John Demjanjuk trial. (Reuters)

Discovering the sins of their fathers

How do the children of Nazis cope with their parents' past? John Dornberg in Munich reports on the work of a Jewish author who has investigated this topic

A NIGHTMARE haunts the man called Rudolf, and it is invariably the same dream.

He dreams that men in striped concentration-camp garb come to him at night, yank him out of bed, drag him across the room, hustle him down the steps, and push him into a car. As the automobile races through a city, he can hear the shrieks of people standing on the sidewalk.

The car pulls up at a strange house. He is forced into the building, pushed downstairs into a stone cellar, and stripped naked by his captors. Then the door clangs shut and he is left alone. On the walls he can see many shower-heads. Suddenly he hears a hissing from them. His eyes start to burn, then his throat begins to constrict, and he can barely breathe.

He dreams that he bangs at the door and tries to push it open, but to no avail. He tries to scream, but cannot. Then he wakes up.

It is a nightmare about Auschwitz, or any other Nazi death camp, and there are times, according to Rudolf, when he has it twice a week.

The description sounds like some of the dreams of the children of the Nazi Holocaust. But Rudolf is not a child of the Holocaust. On the contrary, he is the child of one of its perpetrators.

Rudolf, now 37, was born in 1950 in Argentina, where his parents, using false identities and aided by other Nazis on the run, had escaped

in 1945, after the end of World War II and the Third Reich.

His father had been an SS officer in a concentration camp. Once, when very drunk, he told Rudolf how he had shot Jewish children and infants with a pistol, because the "stupid machine-guns" had "aimed too high and only killed the parents."

Rudolf's parents were killed in an automobile crash in 1968. After the funeral, as an expression of his hatred for them, he urinated on their grave.

THE STORY of Rudolf, his nightmares and his contempt for his parents, is told in a book just published in West Germany and also being excerpted by the news magazine *Der Spiegel*. Entitled *Schuldig Geboren* (Born Guilty), it is a series of case studies and interviews with children and grandchildren of Nazis and war criminals.

The author, Vienna-born Peter Sichrovsky, 39, is the son of Austrian Nazis who emigrated when the Nazis came to power there in 1938, but returned after the war. It is his third book. In the first, he interviewed children of Holocaust victims. In the second, he profiled Jews of his own age who, like himself, were born or grew up after the war in Germany, Austria and other European countries where their parents had once been persecuted. For *Born Guilty*, he turned to the other side, to the offspring of the persecutors.

Though turned down by many, Sichrovsky eventually succeeded in interviewing and taping some 40 men and women now in their late 30s and early 40s, most of whom are themselves parents of high-school or college kids. Sixteen of them appear in the book.

"I sought out people in my own age-group whose parents might have victimized or could have tried to kill my parents," he explains. "I wanted to ascertain how they deal with the burden of history they inherited."

Some are sons and daughters of high-ranking Nazis, including Wehrmacht generals and convicted war criminals who had either been executed or served terms in Allied prisons. But he also interviewed the offspring of "ordinary" Nazis and fellow-travellers, among them the son of a small town's Nazi mayor, and the children of civil servants and schoolteachers whose only "crime" had been to follow the herd, obey orders and cheer the regime.

About two-thirds of the interviewees demanded that their identities be disguised. All knew that Sichrovsky is Jewish and that he belongs to the "victim group." A few told him that, despite what his own parents had suffered, he was luckier than they, because he had not been "sentenced to life as the child of a murderer."

Most were burdened - in cases like Rudolf's, to the degree of severe personality disorder - by a crushing sense of guilt for their parents' crimes, though it was usually not until adulthood that they found out the truth about what their parents had done.

These are the West Germans born just before or shortly after the war. They grew up in the "economic miracle" era of the 1950s and '60s, when the history and crimes of the Nazi period were cloaked in secrecy

at home, at school and in the media by the older generation. It was the era when Germans tried to sweep their past under the carpet, because they could not face up to collective responsibility for the horrors of that past.

ALL SOCIETIES have generation gaps, but Sichrovsky has shown Germany's - and Austria's - to be in large measure a credibility gap.

The case of one of his subjects, a 39-year-old woman identified as Anna, is symptomatic. Unlike most of her age peers, she did learn about the Third Reich in school, and that six million Jews had been murdered in the Holocaust.

"But no one," she told Sichrovsky, "ever dared to say it was our own parents who did it." She discovered that only as an adult when, by chance, former inmates named and identified her father as a death-camp guard. He was charged with murder by the West German authorities and brought to trial, but was eventually acquitted.

Anna, however, never acquitted him. She spent years after the trial trying to pry the truth out of her father.

"I could just as well have been asking the kitchen sink," she said. "All my questions were washed down the drain."

THE FATHER of Susanne, 43, was more forthcoming. Susanne is a high-school teacher. So is her husband Horst, whom she married in 1965. They have a son, Dieter, now 20. They live in the house that Susanne's father claims to have bought through a real estate agent in 1941.

At the time the father, now almost 90 and in a nursing home, was a Nazi officer working in the administration of a number of concentration camps, including Auschwitz. He was arrested

And you say you never knew, that Grandfather never told you? You're lying!"

As Susanne told Sichrovsky, it was the start of a family horror-trip not yet ended. She remains emotionally torn between a daughter's loyalty to her father and a mother's loyalty to her son.

NOT ALL the "Nazi grandchildren" feel like Dieter about their forebears. Sichrovsky shows the other side of

order to give the impetus for a new and better Germany" and "to better identify with the victims."

His sister Brigitte, on the other hand, waxes apologetic for their father and the Third Reich, and says she does not want to be burdened with guilt.

AND THEN there are those who sense no guilt at all, like the man named Gerhard, a butcher, whose father was the Nazi Party leader and

Your old man's got a few hundred Jews on his conscience, especially the Jews who used to live in this town.

the coin in the case of Stefanie, 19, who lives in West Berlin. Her grandfather was an SS general, executed as a war criminal in 1946. She has seen photographs of him in his "black uniform with the shiny boots" and reveres him as a "patriotic German" and "sexy-looking man."

But she despises her own parents, who joined Jehovah's Witnesses and became deeply religious after the war. She considers them weak, "wishy-washy" and "unpatriotic," because "they are always praying and trying to atone for what Grandfather supposedly did." She rejects information about the Holocaust as "lies and propaganda."

Judging from what she told Sichrovsky in the interview, Stefanie is a budding neo-Nazi and a racist.

ONE OF THE book's most gripping and revealing chapters consists of a bitter dispute, recorded verbatim by Sichrovsky, between a brother and sister, Rainer and Brigitte, whose father was a Wehrmacht general staff officer who served four years of a war crimes sentence.

Rainer is totally consumed by guilt for what his father and other Germans did during the war. He has worked in Israel as a volunteer on a kibbutz, and at one point was on the verge of converting to Judaism "in

burgomaster of their town from 1940 to 1945.

Once, in school, Gerhard was told by a classmate: "Your old man's got a few hundred people on his conscience, especially the Jews who used to live here." Gerhard told Sichrovsky that he asked his father what happened to the Jews who used to live in the town. According to his father, "they all emigrated to America where they had good lives, didn't have the war, and didn't suffer in the air raids."

Gerhard takes his father's explanation at face value. He also insisted to Sichrovsky that his father had been "democratically elected" in 1940, then "shabbily treated" after the war.

SICHROVSKY emphasizes that his 40 taped and 16 published interviews cannot and should not be treated as any kind of cross-section.

True. Yet the case studies are in a way representative of the hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of West Germans between ages 35 and 45 who are the children of big and little Nazis, of war criminals and just plain fellow-travellers, who shut their eyes and ears to the horrors of the Third Reich and then, in the 1950s and '60s, tried not only to hide from the truth but to hide it from Germany's next generation.

Down to earth again

Tora Today/Pinhas H. Peli

The Tora portion for this week is Mishpatim (Exodus 21:1-24:18)

TO COME DOWN from the mountain was just as hard as ascending to its top. Living on earth after having been exposed to the heights, required a difficult adjustment. After the "thunder and lightning," the clouds and the fire experienced at Mount Sinai, came drab days in which the great principles and categorical imperatives heard in the voice of God Himself had to be translated for daily reality.

"Now these are the laws which you shall set before them" (Exodus 21:1). From the general rules to the minute details: from the top of the mountain of the Lord to the farmstead and the market place. What follows immediately after the great theophany are not rules of temple, charity and prayer, nor other such matters dealing with man's relationship to God, but laws regulating justice between man and his fellow human being.

The point of departure for those laws is not some ideal society or other idyllic situations, but rather the grim circumstances of life.

The first circumstance seems a little odd: "When you acquire a Hebrew slave..."

In order to acquire a slave who is a Hebrew there must be one who is selling himself. What on earth makes a free person, who belongs to a people that had just broken away dramatically from centuries of enslavement, go and sell himself as a slave?

According to the ancient rabbis, we are not dealing with a person who has sold himself into slavery out of his own volition. The Hebrew slave in our case is a thief whom the court sold to make restitution for his theft. We are going on (chapter 22:1-2): "If a rascal later on (chapter 22:1-2): 'he shall thief be found breaking in... he shall make restitution. If he has nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft.'"

With this instance we are thrown abruptly, without any warning, into an ugly social reality which seems to be as far as possibly removed from the celebrated moment at Sinai. Far removed it is, but not altogether cut off from it. On the contrary, the great rules learned at Sinai are now being put to their first test in the real world.

Tora uses a lot of space to enumerate the human rights of the Hebrew slave. As despicable a character as he may be, a thief, and also penniless and shameless, he is still a person created in the image of God, one of us, a product of our society, part of our responsibility.

While caring for the person who "slipped away" from the right path, Tora by no means condones stealing. The fact that Tora cites the case of the Hebrew slave who was sold for his theft as first of the rules presented following Sinai proves that it was considered of high priority in the process of translating the lofty teachings of Sinai into day-to-day life.

What a comedown! Only a short while ago, the entire people heard the voice of the Lord thundering "Thou shalt not steal!" and look at the meagre impact. The most unusual experience and loftiest ideals, cannot remove us from the scene of "normal" society, where thefts ranging from grand larceny to shoplifting and invoice padding, are taken for granted. People find it hard to see the connection between the high-sounding "categorical imperatives" and the accepted mores of a society.

There was a time not so long ago, when Jews in their eagerness to become a "normal" nation, like all others, longed for Hebrew-speaking thieves and prostitutes. In this sense, the Israelites coming out of Egypt were perhaps a "normal" nation. That "normalcy" was now called into question as a result of the event at Sinai. It could no more be part of

the "ways of the world," as the routine conduct of business, as something inevitable that one should not try to change, but rather as something that could and should be tamed by the new ideal heralded at Sinai: "Thou shalt not steal!"

The challenge then (and to this day) was how to bring the abstract lofty ideals down to earth and into life itself. Hence the transition from Sinai to the market place where "normal" people are sold as slaves to make up for their theft.

A PASSIONATE campaign against theft by infringing in any possible way on other people's property, was carried on by the rabbis of the Talmud and Midrash as well as of later generations. It was a relentless fight against accepting "normalcy" as a standard of ethical behaviour and a direct echo of the thundering voice coming forth from Sinai.

The way to deal with another person's property was not based on some social convention of ethics, but is now considered a highly religious obligation. Misappropriating of as much as the worth of one *pruta* from someone else was according to R' Yohanan (a third century Galilean rabbi) tantamount to murder (T.B. Baba-kama 119a). Stealing in any form and under any other name is considered by the rabbis not only as a sin against man, but as an outright rebellion against God.

Raban Yohanan ben-Zakkai (first century Jerusalem rabbi) was asked by his disciples, why is Tora harsher in its treatment of the *ganav* (a thief) more than that of the *gazlan* (a highway robber)? While the former pays back, when caught, double, the latter pays only the principal. He answered them: the *gazlan*, who commits his violent acts in the open is equally brazen both towards God and towards people, but the *ganav* is worse. He hides from people, commits his crimes when no human can see him, but does not care about God who sees! Adding cowardice to crime - he deserves a more severe penalty (ibid., 79b).

The talmudic rabbis reviled the

hypocrisy of the thief who calls on God for help while engaged in stealing (T.B. B'rakhot 63a), not realizing that religious piety and stealing never go hand-in-hand. They saw in any kind of stealing a sign of an impaired personality. This psychological insight served one of the rabbis in his "detective" work. When he was staying at an inn, Mar Zutra Hasi-da's wallet disappeared. The student rabbi noticed one of his students wiping his wet hands on someone else's garment without permission, he decided that this one must be the thief, since he does not mind using someone else's property. They interrogated him and found that it was indeed he who had picked the rabbi's pocket (T.B. Baba-metzia 14a).

SINCE VERY EARLY times, the prohibition against stealing and a person's right to property were seen as among the foundations of the Judaic world view. The ancient Targum Jonathan elaborates and renders the commandment against stealing in the following way: "Children of Israel, My people, you must not be thieves, nor the companions or accomplices of thieves. There must not be in the congregation of Israel thievish people; so that your sons may not arise after you to teach one another to be accomplices of thieves; for because of theft, famine comes upon the world."

Also Philo states that "he who gapes after what belongs to others is the common enemy of the state, willing to rob all but able to flee from some... So all thieves who have acquired the strength rob cities, careless of punishment because their high distinction seems to set them above the laws... Ambitious for despotism or domination, they perpetrate thefts on a great scale, disguising the real fact of robbery under the grand-sounding names of 'government' and 'leadership'... Let a man, then, learn from his earliest years to filch nothing that belongs to another, however small it may be, because habit in the course of time is stronger than nature, and little things, if not checked, grow and thrive until they attain to great dimensions" (quoted in *The Ten Commandments* by Solomon Goldman).

Centuries after Philo, a popular moralist author of the early 19th century, R' Eliezer Papu, in his encyclopedic *Pele Yoetz*, reiterates that education against stealing must start at childhood, for it is very hard to uproot in adulthood. He also offers practical advice to parents: first not to get their children used to luxurious living, lest it becomes eventually a cause for stealing when their legitimate income cannot afford them high standards of living; and secondly, to provide their children with generous pocket money for spending, so that they should not be tempted to steal.

R' Papu also makes special mention of the habit of stealing books, either directly or by borrowing and not returning, a practice which many people tend to take lightly. This is unfortunately not the only kind of stealing people take lightly. One does not have to embezzle from a bank to transgress the prohibition of "thou shalt not steal." Many societies and institutions have theft built into their system and it is almost impossible for the individual to escape them. Tora commentators throughout the ages spared no effort in trying to make us aware of the

subject's severity and complexity. Why, says Rabbeinu Bachye (1255-1340), is the commandment against stealing listed eighth in the order of the Ten Words? Because there are eight kinds of stealing: 1) through dishonest billing; 2) by false measures; 3) by giving false weight; 4) by refusing to return lost property to its rightful owner; 5) kidnapping and selling a person; 6) actual theft of cash; 7) misleading someone (genevot daat), i.e. inviting someone knowing that he cannot accept the invitation; 8) marrying an orphan left in one's care to one's son, in order to keep her money in the family.

What a poor list. How some of our contemporaries could "improve" on it.

Rabbi Peli is professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

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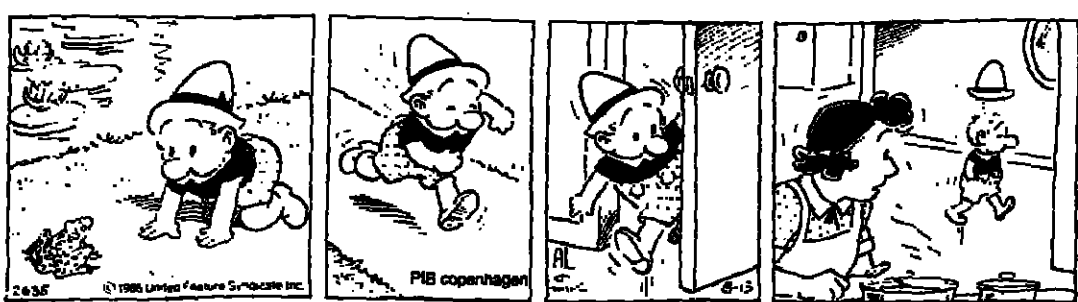
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Jerusalem	4:58 p.m.	6:11 p.m.
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Haifa	5:07 p.m.	6:11 p.m.
Beer Sheva	5:14 p.m.	6:12 p.m.
Elitzur	5:14 p.m.	6:14 p.m.

Tara Portion: Mishpatim

JERUSALEM
YERUSHALAYIM CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 5:30. Shabbat, Shabbat 8: Mincha 12:45, 4:55. Maariv 6:10. Hazan: Asher Hilel-vitz.
JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 5:25. Shabbat, Shabbat 8: Mincha 5:00. Cantor: Naphtali Hershberg and Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir conducted by El Jaffe.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative, 4 Agnon, Friday, Mincha 5:10. Shabbat, Shabbat 8:30. Cantor: Rabbi Dr. Louis Katzoff. Hazan: Hanna Rutenstein.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform), 13 King George St., Sat. 9:30 a.m.: Information on college programs: guided tour of campus. Service: 10 a.m.

HAR-EL SYNAGOGUE, (Progressive), 16 Shmuel Hanagid, Tel. 02-23841, Friday 5:00 p.m. Sermon: Rabbi Charles Kroloff, President ARZA (English) on: "Who is a Jew: American Perspective." Shabbat morning 9:30, Rabbi Tovah Ben-Horin.

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BAPTIST CONGREGATION, 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem: Sunday services: 9:00 a.m. Bible study, 10:30 a.m. Worship, Tel. 225942.
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ST. PAUL'S (Pentecostal), 32 Shvivi Yisrael, 6:30 p.m. Saturday, Tel. 02-717988.

JERUSALEM CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY, YMCA auditorium, 26 King David St., Tel. 232016, Sunday, 7 p.m.
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WHAT'S ON

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UJA INFORMATION CENTRE, 1 Ibn Gabirol St., Rehavia, Jerusalem. Features TV news programmes from the U.S., annual A.P. News telecast, videotapes on UJA (United Jewish Appeal) sponsored programmes in Israel. Open Sunday-Thursdays, 3:00-7:00 p.m. For more information call Tel. 02-246807, 02-240795.
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ART GUIDE

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Museums and Exhibitions
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MISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM, Fisher Hall, Yashu Cynsini, "Exhibition", opening Feb. 27, closing March 17, 1987. Hours: Sun-Thur. 5-8, Wed, Fri. 10-12, Tue, 10-8. Mon. closed. Tel. 224321.
TEL AVIV
Museums
TEL AVIV MUSEUM. Exhibitions: 0. Shiloh 0. Oskar Kokoschka, 1886-1980. Selection of Prints and Albums 0 Trends in Geometric Abstract Art 0 Edward Munch (prints): Death, Love and Anxiety. Visiting Hours: Sun-Thur. 10-12, Fri. 11-2, 7-10; Sat. 10-12, 7-10; Sun-Thur. 10-12, 7-10; Fri. 10-12, 7-10; Sat. 10-12, 7-10. Closed: March 17, 1987. Hours: Sun-Thur. 5-8, Wed, Fri. 10-12, Tue, 10-8. Mon. closed. Tel. 224321.
L.A. MAYER MUSEUM FOR ISLAMIC ART. Visiting hours: Sun-Thurs. 10-12; 3:30-6. Fri. closed. Sat. 10-1, 2. Hapalmach St. Tel. 02-5812912. Bus No. 15.
OLD YISHUV CULTURE MUSEUM. Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century-World War II, 6 Or Hachaim, Jewish Quarter, Old City. Sun-Thur. 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

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Tel Aviv: Banni, 174 Ditzengoff, 222388; Ziva, 42 Etzel, Hatikva, 378403; Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: Arza, 38 Ostrova, Ra'anana.
Netanya: Kupat Holim Clalit, 31 Brodsky, 31723.
Haifa: Hanassi, 33 Sderot Hanassi, 333312.
Saturday, February 28
Jerusalem: (day) Kupat Holim Clalit, Roma, 523191; Balsam, Salah Eddin, 227215; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058; (evening) Balsam, Yehoshua Ben Gamliel, 223761.
Tel Aviv: (day and evening) Alva, 165 Ditzengoff, 224717; Brit, 28 King George, 283731.
Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: (day) Kupat Holim Meuhedet, Yehoshua Ben Gamliel, 223761; (evening) Avner Gilad, 34 Weizmann, Kfar Sava.
Netanya: Truf, 2 Herzl, 28550.
Haifa: Hanna, 22 Hanna, 231905.
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SOCCER PREVIEW

Shimshon enter Betar sweepstakes

By PAUL KOHN

TEL AVIV. — Tomorrow it's Shimshon Tel Aviv's turn to try and check Betar Jerusalem's run to the championship title.

Shimshon are among the half dozen challengers for the runner-up position in the National League. In their 18 games this season they have lost only twice.

The Yeminite Quarter team also lay claim to the best defensive record in the First Division, having conceded just ten goals. This would suggest that Messrs. Ohana, Vandermolen and Malmilian will not find it easy to get past the likes of Nissim Barda and Efraim Arviv. Bloomfield fans can look forward to a hard fought game. Kick-off is at 3 p.m.

Also in the runner-up stakes are Hapoel Kfar Sava and Maccabi Tel Aviv, who clash in Kfar Sava. For the home fans the big question until kick-off will be whether Eli Yanni, their potent tall striker, will be fit to take the field.

If he does join Nissim in the Kfar Sava attack, Avit Cohen, Shimshon and Ben-Zion will be in the Maccabi defence will be strengthened. The fans will also be able to compare Yanni to Eli Dricks, the powerfully built Tel Aviv striker, as the two are in the running for leading the National team.

Second placed Hapoel Tel Aviv appear to have an easier task in Netanya today, playing against bottom placed Betar who appear already to have sold goodbye to First Division football next season. Last season's champions Hapoel Tel Aviv also look headed for three points from a home game against struggling Maccabi Tel Aviv, in the early game at Bloomfield.

In the Second Division, Hapoel Jerusalem appear to have an excellent chance of going to the top of the table following their home match against Betar Nabariya. Hapoel Holon, however, who are level with the Jerusalemites on points, also have an "easy" home game against bottom placed Hapoel Dimona.

Other National League fixtures:

Hapoel Beersheva v Maccabi Netanya

Maccabi Jaffa v Hapoel PT

Betar Tel Aviv v Maccabi Haifa

Hapoel Lod v Maccabi PT

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Heading for a crash

Avi Temkin

Nowhere is there greater danger to the government's economic plan than in the field of labour relations. The entire economic policy is based on one critical assumption — effective wage restraint. This was the assumption behind the 10 per cent devaluation of the shekel implemented last month. The devaluation, and the measures implemented in its wake, stand and fall with the government's success in restricting wage increases to no more than 1 or 2 per cent in real annual terms.

In this area, the government may be about to suffer a major setback. The strikes by administration and maintenance hospital workers could be only the first in a long series of labour disputes leading to a general breakdown of wages policy. If this happens, the government will have nobody to blame but itself. A large part of the labour unrest stems from Treasury measures.

While signs of unrest existed before the January 13 devaluation of the shekel, there is no doubt that the 10 per cent decrease in the value of the shekel served as a catalyst for the present troubles. The Treasury knew before the devaluation that tight conditions prevailed in the labour market. With some economic sectors booming, employers are prepared to grant wage rises. The devaluation signalled the workers that inflation will be rising, and that they should press for salary increments.

The fact that the recent strikes are concentrated in the public sector does not mean that there is no pressure in the business sector, but that employers are probably paying. The Electric Corporation, a government owned firm, where workers recently received a one-time bonus of NIS 1,700, is only one example of what is probably going on in many other firms.

BUT NOT only the devaluation should be blamed for the shaky situation on the wage front. The Treasury's inability to show "toughness" in its battle for the budget probably impressed workers. With politicians busy looking for the public coffers in the last weeks, as exemplified by the Likud demands for more money for West Bank settlements,

workers cannot be expected to lag behind. Had the Treasury firmly resisted the demands of the backbenchers, it would have been possible to stand firm against wage demands. But once the signs of weakness came from none other than Finance Minister Moshe Nissim, it is evident that pressures in other sectors are unavoidable. The present political climate, with the prospects of early elections, also does not contribute to avoiding the potential storm.

When Treasury officials presented the state budget for the next fiscal year, starting on April 1, they stressed that the government deficit was projected to increase compared to fiscal 1986/87. They said that the deficit would reach the upper limit of what was compatible with economic stability. Any increase in spending would therefore jeopardize such stability. Given developments in the past several weeks, the feared increased deficit looks much more likely.

There are ways of offsetting the impact of higher spending, but these remedies would entail sacrificing other Treasury goals. The government could step up its borrowing from the public. This would mean a retreat from plans to reform the capital market, enabling the business sector to find the funding it needs for investment. The Treasury could increase taxation. But this would be a confession that the tax reform has been scrapped.

Finally, the Treasury could be forced to return to the cabinet with a demand for additional cuts in the budget. Although this is the solution which Finance Ministry officials prefer, they will probably have to wait until the political sky clears up before asking for more cutbacks. No politician is going to pay attention to the warnings of concerned officials when elections are in the air.

EVENTUALLY the Treasury will come to the cabinet with a request for cutting government expenditures. When such a moment comes, the Finance Ministry could try to press for further cuts and user charges in the social services. This would probably doom the efforts to

curtail spending. With the health services crumbling and the education services affected by continued strikes, no cabinet will be willing to decide on further cuts in those areas.

Furthermore, the Treasury knows that the one item which could and should be slashed is the Defence Ministry budget. The Lavi jet fighter project, for instance, has not been popular with the Treasury, and when the time comes for decisions on the project, the Treasury will be closer to the American position than to the one held by the Defence Ministry.

Given past experience, there is not much room for optimism regarding cuts in military spending. Defence expenditure has been considered a taboo for so many years, that it is hard to conceive how Treasury officials could convince the cabinet to make cuts there.

ON TOP of these problems, the Treasury was presented some weeks ago with a *fait accompli* by the Bank of Israel, which surprised everybody when it increased interest rates by 1 per cent a month. The Finance Ministry has known for some time that they should expect little help from the central bank. Top central bank officials are demoralized by their failures regarding the country's banking system, frustrated by their inability to influence macro-economic developments, and confused by the turn taken by the economy. But the decision on interest rates still came as a surprise.

There are many arguments one could make against such a move. High interest rates could contribute to higher costs. This in turn will push up prices.

In addition, higher interest rates will put additional pressure on companies and other organizations with large debts. Many will eventually ask the Treasury for help, and this will put further pressure on the budget.

The central bank has said that increased interest rates are only temporary, and they will be brought down in April. Such a statement was greeted with a large degree of scepticism. The bank has been such a strong supporter of high interest rates, that there is a strong basis for such doubts. The bank tends to hasten when it wants to raise rates, but to act "carefully" and "gradually" when it wants to cut them.

Higher wages, higher costs, and higher interest rates are not exactly conducive to export profitability or price stability. What the economy is currently facing is a situation where each of these negative developments supports the others, together they produce the same kind of dynamic that toppled stabilization plans in other parts of the world. Unfortunately, there are many signs that such a dynamic is materializing in Israel. Without a dramatic change in the way the government and the Bank of Israel are managing the economy, there is little hope of avoiding such a development.

EUROPEAN SOCCER

Dalglish takes Liverpool into final

LONDON (Reuter). — Player-manager Keny Dalglish marked his first full game since Christmas with one of the goals which helped Liverpool to their fifth English League Cup final appearance in seven years.

A 3-0 win over Southampton at Anfield in the second leg of the semi-final earned Liverpool, winners of the Cup four successive times between 1981 and 1984, a 3-0 aggregate win.

Irish international Ronnie Whelan broke the deadlock after an hour when he netted from close range and Dalglish ended the match as a contest with his goal in the 74th minute. Jan Molby put the icing on the cake by scoring Liverpool's third goal five minutes from time.

Sheffield Wednesday ended a dismal run of 20 years without a victory at West Ham's Upton Park ground

tonight to claim a home FA Cup quarter-final tie against Coventry. Lee Chapman celebrated his recall after suspension with one of the goals in Wednesday's 2-0 fifth round replay win.

Arsenal, who meet neighbours Tottenham in the second leg of the other semi-final on March 1, missed the chance of going back to the top of the First Division when they were held to a goalless draw at Oxford. Everton stay ahead on goal difference.

Tottenham, 1-0 winners of the away leg of their League Cup semi-final, found no such difficulties piercing the Leicester defence, sweeping into fourth place in the table with a 5-0 win.

Four of their goals came in the opening 15 minutes of the second half. Two were scored by Clive

Allen, taking his tally for the season to 37.

English League Cup semi-final second-leg: Liverpool 3 Southampton 0 (Liverpool win 3-0 on aggregate).

English FA Cup fifth-round replay: West Ham 0 Sheffield Wednesday 2.

English Football League Cup quarter-final: Norwich 3 Portsmouth 1.

English First Division: Oxford 0 Arsenal 0, Tottenham 5 Leicester 0.

Scottish Cup fourth-round replay: Peterhead 3 Raith 3 (after extra-time).

Scottish Premier Division: Falkirk 0 Hamilton 2, Heart of Midlothian 1 Motherwell 1, St. Mirren 1 Aberdeen 0.

Italian Cup second round: Atalanta 2, Casertana 1; Cagliari 1, Torino 0; Empoli 0, Internazionale 2; Juventus 0, Lazio 0; Milan 0, Parma 1; Napoli 3, Brescia 0; Roma 2, Bologna 2; Verona 0, Cremonese 0.

Spanish Cup quarter-final: Mallorca Atletico 0, Real Sociedad 0; Atletico Madrid 1, Real Madrid 0; Athletic Bilbao 2, Laguarda 0; Chamosa 1, Real Madrid 2.

'Toni' alleges Cologne players dope

COLOGNE (Reuter). — West German World Cup goalkeeper Harald "Toni" Schumacher has been banned for one First Division match by his club Cologne, after making allegations that his fellow-players took dope.

The ban means Schumacher will not play for his team in their away game against Eintracht Frankfurt on Saturday. The Cologne board said it might take further action against Schumacher but would first examine his claims, contained in a new autobiography, and would wait to see what measures the West German Football Federation (DFB) would take.

Club President Peter Weiland said Schumacher's allegations were "damaging to the team."

Schumacher's claims of dope-taking, made in a book which is due

to appear next month, caused a storm of controversy after extracts were published in the weekly news magazine *Spiegel*.

Cologne also said they would carry out doping tests on all members of the team who faced Eintracht Frankfurt, to protect the reputation of both the club and its players.

The DFB said they would look into whether action should be taken against Schumacher for bringing the game into disrepute after studying the book.

West Germany's team manager Franz Beckenbauer, who was subjected to strong criticism in the book, said the goalkeeper would be named tomorrow in his squad for a special training session next month. But he hinted that Schumacher may well be dropped after a meeting between Beckenbauer and DFB

chief Hermann Neuberg.

"What am I going to do if five national players say they don't want to play alongside Toni any more?" Beckenbauer demanded.

Current professionals playing in West Germany are split between those who describe Schumacher's allegations as nonsense and those who say they know of cases where dope was taken.

Audie Perry, 36, the former Maccabi Tel Aviv basketball star, was found guilty in a New York court on three counts of trying to smuggle heroin. Sentence will be handed down at the end of March. Each count carries a possible penalty of 20 years imprisonment.

Perry played for nine seasons in Israel from 1976, helping Maccabi to reach four European Cup finals, of which they won two.

ONE OF this week's contributions to the Forsake Me Not fund came from Miri Rosenfeld of West Hartford, Connecticut whose father was a recipient of the fund. She writes: "My father has the privilege to spend the last 13 years of his life in Jerusalem. It was a lifetime goal for him to live and die in Eretz Yisrael. He was helped by the Forsake Me Not fund in getting a beeper in his apartment after being robbed while he slept. This gave him a better sense of security and peace of mind. We were very grateful for this help. Thank you very much."

Our special thanks to Janis McGilivray of Thayer, Illinois who recently sent in her fifth contribution to the Forsake Me Not fund.

Herman Needle and the daily minyan Aries Sunday Morning Breakfast Club of Beth Tfiloth congregation Baltimore, Maryland gave the

Peace of mind

Beverlee Black

Toy Fund a tremendous boost this week. They sent a batch of cheques totaling \$798, all in memory of Rose Davidson. Our sincere thanks to all of them.

It is never too late to give to either of the funds, so please mail your cheques now to The Jerusalem Post Funds, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.



NIS 100 Esther Ruth Cohen, Haifa, Anonymous, Jerusalem.
NIS 50 Anonymous, Jerusalem.
NIS 20 Anonymous, Haifa.
NIS 18 E. and S. Garfunkle, Netanya.
\$798 In memory of Rose Davidson, donated by members of the Daily Minyan Aries Sunday Morning Breakfast Club — Morris Bohrer, Solomon Block, Jay L. Davidson, Sidney Epstein, Dr. Harold Goldberg, Beth Tfiloth Congregation, Harry M. Kinson, Martin Lev, Eric Levi, Howard Gosh, Jacob Yosef Williams, Herman Needle, Ronna Plotkin, Barry Plotkin, Robert Russell, Joseph Paper, Herbert Sandler, Frances Saperstein, Morton Sarubin, Shalom Will Corporation.
\$145 From members of the Jewish Fellowship of Davis, CA — Steve and Debbie Horowitz, Nate and Sara Hoffman, Ann and Andrew Greenblatt, Kenneth and Evelyn Veronah, Barry and Sharon Monowich, Joshua L. Jackson, \$75 Hyman and Mollie Berkowitz, Silver Spring, MD.
\$20 In remembrance of our dear friend Joan Shinsky, Jerusalem, who left us too early — Manfred and Judy Cohen, Haifa. In loving memory of our father, Ernest, Ernest Mathias and Samuel Becker — Sidney and Rita Mathias, Buffalo Grove, IL.
\$5 S.Z. Gray, Hagerstown, MD.

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MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

The right to know

of the more interesting, if less debated aspects of the Bejski and of the whole discussion of capital market reform and regulation, concerning the underlying philosophy of regulation.

One school of thought demands the fullest possible level of disclosure by companies. If there was more information disclosed, investors would be able to make their own assessments and arrive at reasonably accurate conclusions. If they didn't, it would be their own fault.

The other approach is that disclosure by itself is insufficient, and that it must be accompanied by tough implementation of the law — i.e., that regulatory authorities must have teeth, and must bite hard where and when necessary.

Let us concentrate, for the present, only on the disclosure side of the equation.

The banks are, perhaps inevitably, in the firing line when it comes to moves to make firms disclose more about themselves. The most recent issue, it need hardly be recalled, was the question of revealing top executives' salaries. This began with the Globerson report last October, which set the cat among the pigeons. Most of its claims were wildly exaggerated, stemming in large measure from the Japhet distortion — the skewing caused by the obscene salaries paid to Japhet and a few others at the very top.

Now, reluctantly, the banks are at the start of a process in which the salaries will be revealed. But they are hardly the most interesting figures that a would-be investor needs to know about the banks (assuming their shares were proper shares and not quasi-bonds). What about their exposure to known credit risks?

The Bank of Israel is currently negotiating with the banks and the accountants about the introduction of a note to their annual accounts in which their loan exposure to major creditors with problems of one sort or another would be detailed. These are not loans that are bad or doubtful, in the formal sense. They are the ones that could potentially go sour if the position of the lender in question deteriorates significantly.

In the Israeli context, of course, it means the Solid Bonds, the United Kibbutz Movements and the Elcants of the economy — the ones who might be saved and might yet drown. Ask any bank how much each of these or other borrowers owes them and you will get no clear answer, on the grounds of banking secrecy. The "we can't divulge details of individual clients' syndromes. More often than not, this is merely the banker's version of the fifth amendment, refusal to answer on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Compare, for this purpose, the following data, which represent an everyday experience in the U.S. financial scene: Last Friday Brazil announced it was suspending interest payments on its \$68 billion of debts to private institutions — mainly U.S. banks. On Monday, the bank share sector on the New York Stock Exchange was routed by a selling wave — as was to be expected. On Tuesday, the papers were full of analysts' analyses of whether Brazil's move was a precedent and whether the debt crisis was now about to boil over.

Along with the speculation, however, were hard facts and figures. We quote from the *Wall Street Journal's* "Heard on the Street" column of Tuesday: "Citicorp's (down 3 3/8 to 54 7/8 on Monday) Brazilian loans at the end of last September totalled \$4.6b., or 2.35 per cent of its year-end assets and 34.1 per cent of its primary capital," according to a brokerage house's bank analyst.

"The same figures for other major banks, he said, are as follows," and then comes a list of all the major banks with the equivalent figures as cited for Citicorp.

In Israel there are no analysts to ask, they don't know, they can't find out, the banks won't talk — and then everyone is surprised that the whole system runs on rumours, hearsay and little-tattle.

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ECI loss widened sharply in '86

By DAVID ROSENBERG

ECI Telecom Ltd.'s losses increased sharply last year from 1985 as sales declined, but fourth-quarter figures showed substantial improvement, the company reported yesterday.

For the year ended December 31, ECI Telecom lost nearly \$8 million, compared with \$3.28m. in 1985, as sales dropped 12.4 per cent to \$19.16m. For the final three months, however, the company was able to narrow its year-on-year losses from \$4.41m. to \$1.81m.

Sales in the final quarter were up 11.8 per cent to \$5.12m. Compared with the average of the previous three quarters, sales were up 28 per cent, the company noted.

The per share loss for the year

worked out to \$1.59, compared with 69 cents in 1985.

The results reflect both the company's efforts to streamline operations and the difficult economic environment in which it operates. The company laid off 28 per cent of its work-force and cut salaries, during the last year in a cost-cutting programme.

Nonetheless, as ECI noted in a statement accompanying its results yesterday, its cost of sales increased last year by about 3.5 per cent to \$13.67m. Like other exporters, ECI was squeezed by the effectively frozen dollar-shekel exchange rate last year and the cost-of-living increases it was obliged to pay to its employees.

In addition, research and develop-

ment expenses more than doubled from 1985 levels to just over \$5m., as the company worked to complete development on its DTX-240 circuit multiplication system and its TAT-8 fibre optic cable for transatlantic communications.

As part of its cost-cutting efforts, ECI Telecom said yesterday that it was selling a 28 per cent interest in California-based Merit Inc.

This step will enable management to concentrate on improving the performance of ECI's basic business, President Mair Laser said in a statement.

Additionally, ECI Telecom cut its bank debt by some \$5m., noting that it was able to finance its loss last year by reducing its long-term receivables rather than increasing its lines of credit.

IMF delegation here to evaluate economic trends

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter

A senior delegation from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) arrived yesterday in Israel for a two-week visit, during which they will meet with the heads of the Treasury, the Bank of Israel and business leaders.

The delegation will use the information gathered here to draft the IMF's annual report on the Israeli economy, to be discussed by the IMF's executive in May.

While Israel is less dependent on IMF credits than many other countries, its reports are widely read by the international financial community and are very influential.

COALITION

(Continued from Page One)

sion that he believed if all of Israel's conditions were accepted, the national unity government would adopt a "positive decision" concerning the international conference.

Rabin reiterated the demand that the international conference not be allowed to "dictate, change or cancel" any agreements achieved in direct bilateral negotiations. He pointed out that Jordan and the Soviet Union had yet to accept Israel's preconditions for the conference.

Rabin said "any inhabitant of the territories, provided that he is not in prison," could serve on the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the peace talks. As for other Palestinians, Rabin said, "they must not be PLO members."

Rabin said that the Soviet Union and China must renew diplomatic relations with Israel before being allowed to participate in an international conference. The USSR must also allow Soviet Jews to emigrate, he said.

Finance Minister Nissim yesterday attacked the Labour Party, saying that it was becoming "more and more dovish." This made it more difficult to face "unexpected diplomatic developments," he said.

DEMJANJUK

(Continued from Page Two)

berg told the court the exact Yiddish wording in his 1947 statement to Friedman, whom at the time he called Tadek, an affectionate Polish name. The Yiddish was: *Mir hobn gesurn di Ukrainer barack, un me hot zai zerhaget, un dort hot er geschlofen.* (We stormed the barack of the Ukrainians and they were severely beaten; that is where he slept.)

The actual document in Rosenberg's possession is the German translation made at the time. O'Connor again asked Rosenberg whether he had told Friedman that his report was based on hearsay, and that it contained the words "we," the first person plural, in describing the killing of Ivan.

Rosenberg replied that he had initially each page of the translation without actually reading the German. "Perhaps I was naive. I never thought it would come to court. We spoke to each other in Yiddish."

Rosenberg was in Vienna in 1947 on a Hagana mission and used Austrian identification papers which gave the year of his birth as 1924, rather than 1921, the true date.

O'Connor made much of this discrepancy, although it seemed clear to observers that Rosenberg had been using another person's documents or forged papers for his undercover work, on which he refused to enlarge, even at this remove.

The Reuters correspondent in Jerusalem, Galina Vromen, reported that Friedman, in a telephone interview from his Haifa home, denied that O'Connor had made any payment to him. He added that Rosenberg was making a fool of himself.

"If I'm called, I will appear in court and say that what is written in the deposition is true, and that we read it back to him. It is lucky for me that two students also interrogated him. They are today famous doctors and their signatures are there," Friedman said.

Asked if he thought Ivan the Terrible was dead, Friedman said: "It is not for me to judge...they [the judges] have to say whether Rosenberg's testimony is true or false. He said he heard that they killed him. He now says this testimony was falsified."

Prosecutor Michael Shaked suggested that after two hours of cross-examination on the Vienna document, it would be advisable to leave things until Friedman was called to the witness stand.

The rest of the day's proceedings were taken up with further cross-examination of Rosenberg in front of the photos of the Treblinka model. The question involved what could be seen from various parts of the camp. It seems that O'Connor is pursuing this line in preparation for the questioning of later witnesses, none of whom was as close to the gas chambers and Ivan the Terrible as Rosenberg.

The Thursday court sessions run until 3.30 p.m. without a noon recess. Towards the end, Justice Levin said: "The witness is tired and the translator is tired — although she does not admit it — and even Mr. O'Connor may be tired."

He again warned the public not to write or telephone any member of the court, since this would interfere with the process of justice. "I'm asking the media to stress this," he said.

Brazil revives worries over debt

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — The world debt crisis, which since 1982 has frightened and more recently frustrated international policy-makers, could be entering a new and more dangerous phase.

In the past few days, Brazil — the Third World's biggest debtor — has suspended payments of interest on \$68 billion of commercial bank debt. Its total foreign debt is estimated at more than \$108b.

The Philippines, with foreign debt totalling \$28 billion, is considering a plan to postpone debt-rescheduling talks so officials can study Brazil's move and the possibility it suggests of adopting a harder line towards its creditors. Argentina has said it might suspend payments on its \$53b foreign debt, if it is unable to win better terms from its creditors.

And Venezuelan President Jaime Lusinchi has telephoned the presidents of both Brazil and Argentina to discuss the foreign debt problem all three nations share and to express his solidarity. Venezuela's foreign debt totals \$34b.

Bankers, somewhat jaded by the protracted debt problem, are trying to stay optimistic about the situation. But bank stocks are facing pressure with some nervous invest-

mentors selling out. In the U.S., they fell sharply Monday, but held steady Tuesday and early yesterday.

Analysts, trying to digest the rapidly changing situation, say the debt crisis has entered a new and more dangerous stage, requiring the same sense of global economic commitment that appeared in the beginning but seems to be lacking now.

"There had been hope of some breathing room, but now things are turning badly very quickly," said one financial analyst.

In the past, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, working with the commercial banks, devised a case-by-case approach in which economic packages were tailored to the particular situation of the country. But even with this help, the leading countries in the crisis have seen their fortunes ebb and flow, their fragile economies strengthening for a while only to be hit again by more dismal economic problems.

The much-heralded debt initiative by U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker some 17 months ago has had only marginal impact on the countries hit with major debt problems. Baker's proposal called for substantial new commercial bank lending, along with more help from the multi-

lateral development banks and a greater role for the World Bank.

Behind the initiative was the belief that the debtors — especially fledgling democracies in Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Uruguay, Bolivia and Peru — must be given the chance to grow out of their economic troubles or face deep political problems.

The initiative got under way slowly, and critics even now charge that little has been done under the plan to help the most highly indebted countries. Now, what particularly worries analysts is the fact that no country in Latin America is showing much economic strength.

Mexico, whose 1982 cry for help to prevent a default on its debt marked the start of the crisis, is now being hurt by falling oil prices. Brazil had been overwhelmed with a series of economic problems, including runaway inflation. The government, however, hit the bullet, initiating the so-called Cruzado anti-inflation plan with remarkable success. But that too has now fallen on bad times.

Other countries in Latin America are also in the doldrums and while there was some recovery last year, there is a growing pessimism among analysts. At best, they say, the region will muddle through again this year.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices:		Turnovers:		4.25% fully-linked		Mixed 10%	
General Share Index	119.56 +1.33%	Shares — total	NIS 17,005,600	80% linked	Stable	Generally stable	
Non-Bank Index	141.67 +2.75%	Arrangement	NIS 12,543,500	Double-linked:			
Arrangement	105.27 +0.13%	Non-Bank	NIS 15,062,100	Dollar-linked:			
Insurance	127.01 +3.24%	Bids — total	NIS 5,448,500	Admon	Rises slightly		
Commerce, Services	133.07 +3.08%	Dollar-linked	NIS 3,891,000	Rimon	Rises to 5%		
Real Estate	132.57 +2.48%	Dollar-linked	NIS 1,555,500	Gilboa	Rises to 1%		
Industrials	143.07 +2.95%	Treasury Bills	NIS 32,172,400	For Cert. r. r. r.	Mixed to 0.5%		
Textiles	481.26 +3.86%	Share Movements:		Treasury Bills	(annual yield)	29-32.20%	
Electronics	147.81 +2.31%	Advances	237 (108)				
Chemicals	141.41 +4.32%	of which 5%+	74 (28)				
Industrial Invest.	184.91 +0.30%	"buyers only"	4 (1)				
Investment Cos.	167.53 +2.80%	Declines	26 (88)				
General Bond Index	110.00 +0.14%	of which 5%+	3 (12)				
Index-linked Bonds	110.65 +0.15%	"sellers only"	0 (0)				
Fully-linked	111.32 +0.25%	Unchanged	127 (194)				
Partially-linked	108.66 +0.01%	Trading Halt	32 (33)				
Dollar-linked Bonds	105.27 +0.08%						
Short-term 0-2 yrs	107.64 +0.03%	Bond Market Trends:					
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	109.00 +0.06%	Index-linked:					
Long-term 5+ yrs	111.85 +0.54%	3% fully-linked	Mixed to 1%				

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100NIS change				Meir Exrs	1350	4970	+3.7
Commercial Banks				Supersol 2	10400	372	+3.8
(not part of "arrangement")				Delek r.	5403	454	+3.8
Maritima	1750	236		Lightage	19900	13	
General non-art.	23800	59	+5.1	Cold Storage	1100	3451	+3.8
First Int'l	5000	714	+4.2	Dan Hotels	1700	108	+3.0
FIBI	6000	3423		Yarden Hotel	2700		
Commercial Banks				Hilton			
(part of "arrangement")				Team 1	1025	3760	+3.5
IDB	88500	281	+0.8	Real Estate, Building and Agriculture			
Union 0.1	65850	76		Azorim	1110	18956	+4.4
Discount	112850	273		Elon	500	1340	
Mitrah	38520	878	+0.3	Africa Bar. 0.1	51100	51	+1.2
Hapoel r.	67100	1		Dankner	7270	531	+7.4
General A	153700	1		Prop. & Bldg.	3842	1945	+2.6
Leumi 0.1	38200	1728		Beyside 0.1	4690	1010	
Fin. Trade	50700			ILDC r.	81400	141	+1.8
Mortgage Banks				Ressco r.	7510	181	+0.0
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Dev. Mort.	4820	825	+3.4	Hadarim	2020	1720	+1.1
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New Diaspora muscle

THE DIASPORA fund-raisers on the Jewish Agency board of governors scored a resounding and, no doubt, well-deserved victory Wednesday in gaining control of the agency's business enterprises. This came just after successfully extracting a pledge from chairman Arye Dulzin that he would not seek to continue at his post after his term expires at the end of the year.

For years now the profligacy and sclerosis of the bureaucratic machinery that is the World Zionist Organization-dominated Agency, has been decaying from within no less than from without. But to no avail.

Soon after Israel's establishment it was suggested, by no less a dedicated Zionist than David Ben-Gurion, that the "scaffolding" that Theodor Herzl had set up in Basel in 1897 for the construction of the Jewish State should be dismantled, seeing that the State was already in existence and that all Jews who were free to leave their countries of residence were free to take advantage of its Open Door policy. The suggestion was not very well received at the time, but it should have been viewed as the writing on the WZO's wall. Unfortunately, it was not.

A formal new partnership for the "ingathering of the exiles" and the upbuilding of the country was forged between the State and the Agency. Important work was done through that partnership. But the Agency was increasingly turned from an instrument for the realization of Zionist ideals into a loose coalition of baronial fiefs lording over by job-hungry political parties, and not very much else.

Whatever legitimate criticism could be levelled at the quality of Israel's state administration, had to be multiplied when it came to the Jewish Agency.

An affable, though undistinguished, politician, Arye Dulzin, whose main apparent virtue was his inoffensiveness to both the left and the right, has for the past several years faithfully reflected the spirit of the WZO and the Agency.

Travelling around the world, like all his colleagues, on the premise that he represents the whole Jewish world — certainly more than the State — he was startled to learn that he could be held accountable — in this case for the Japhet affair, cooked up as it was in his own backyard.

It was that affair which sparked this week's revolt by UJA and Keren Hayesod fund-raisers, speaking for their wrathful Diaspora communities, against Mr. Dulzin's leadership. But the Japhet affair was only the last straw. It was seized by the nominally Zionist members of the board of governors who joined the nominally non-Zionists to serve Mr. Dulzin an ultimatum.

The charge brought by the professional party politicians against the fund-raisers is that they seek to use the power of the purse to dictate Zionist development policy to the State of Israel. There may be something to that charge, but for the most part it is nothing better than sour grapes. For it was by Zionist default that the fund-raisers won.

Profound structural reforms in the Jewish Agency — to which Mr. Dulzin has also committed himself during the remaining part of his stewardship — will be necessary to give lasting meaning to this week's little revolution in the board of governors. In the meantime the fund-raisers have given a reminder that the future of the Zionist organization depends on those who can do the job properly, not on those with the right political affiliation.

Dangerous loose ends

FOR THE PAST two weeks or so the government has been preoccupied with international diplomacy and domestic politics. Sooner or later, and probably sooner, given the state of anarchy in labour relations, it will have to face up to the fact that economic stability is a fast-receding phase of our recent history.

While in the U.S. — or so it was reported — Premier Yitzhak Shamir heard some plain talk from Secretary of State George Shultz regarding Israel's economic performance, and the need to make basic changes to improve it. The same message may be expected from the IMF delegation that yesterday arrived to make that organization's annual assessment of the Israeli economy.

The crumbling of the 1985/86 Economic Stabilization Plan, and the prospect of a renewal of chaos, should be exercising the minds of our leaders at least as much as the relative advantages and disadvantages of Chinese involvement in the peace process.

The government can get to grips with the Gordian knot of the economy by pulling at any one of the numerous strands sticking out. be it the breakdown of the health service, the Lavi fighter plane and the defence budget, or the looming nationalization of the banking system. If it continues to ignore them, the government should not be surprised when these loose ends entangle and then strangle it.

NAZIS

(Continued from Page One)

in the dossier had appeared on the Simon Wiesenthal Centre's list of 17 that was sent to the British government last October.

"These 34 are in addition to the 17, and the difference here is that, in some of their cases, we are talking about the alleged murderers of British citizens during World War II."

The Home Office earlier this week produced a detailed legal paper explaining why it was impossible to prosecute any of those named on the Wiesenthal list — because their alleged crimes had been committed outside British territory.

Legal experts consulted by The Post yesterday believed that it might be equally difficult to prosecute those accused of murdering British citizens, because the alleged murders did not take place on British soil.

Tomlinson declined to name any

of the 34 listed in the dossier, preferring to leave that to the DPP. But he did say that "among those named are people alleged to have murdered British prisoners of war in ordinary POW camps in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe. In Poland we believe. We're not talking about two or three murders here," he added, "we're talking of hundreds."

One man on the list, he added, is alleged to have been involved in the massacre of 40,000 civilians, and another in the killing of 3,000 civilians.

Just a few weeks ago, Scottish Television broadcast a programme alleging that successive British governments since 1948 had been operating a policy of non-pursual of Nazi war criminals. The Home Office has hotly denied the charge, claiming that the "non-pursual" instructions related only to the British zone in Germany.

We, the witnesses

Shalom Cohen

I AM ONE of those who had doubts about the wisdom of staging another Holocaust trial in Israel — the criminal prosecution of Demjanjuk, alias Ivan the Terrible. My feeling, as with many others here, was "Let the goyim, other states, try and punish the war criminals in their midst — it's now their problem."

After the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem (which I covered as a reporter) who, after all, was some Ukrainian Ivan, if indeed he was Demjanjuk? Eichmann, that banal figure in the glass dock, was high up in the sadist league — a key figure, in his bureaucratic way, organizing and facilitating the Hun butchery, with the aid of hitch-hikers from other countries, anywhere and everywhere.

Eichmann at the time of his trial was also a more symbolic figure of the magnitude of the time-pits. One could then still imagine him signing the death warrants for his out-tray. A desk killer, and for anyone interested, also a symbol of other, past, present, or future desk brutes that sit in marble offices in many parts of our world.

The nuts and bolts? The sadist Nazi criminals? They must be legion, living respectable amnesiac lives in anybody's suburbia. Let them, the others, handle them, make the

arrests, conduct the trials — we don't need the slime to pollute our own atmosphere here in Israel. And if the others do it, let them do it for their own souls, not for ours.

And it's apes-Eichmann now, and this alleged Ivan looks some roly-poly old shopkeeper, or even some East European Soldier Schweik.

Back in the U.S., there's also a big ex-Ukrainian community or lobby, that wants to distance itself from the past and the Nazi liberators, just as they did, when the going was good, from the Soviets. Who was who in those dark days? Who can tell?

SO, I WAS one of the doubters, one who winced at using the Holocaust for immediate practical purposes — even if morally justified.

Today I think differently. Whether John Demjanjuk is not, or cannot be proved to be, Ivan the Terrible, is not the cardinal point. It's important enough, but no longer the bottom line. For there was an Ivan the Terrible, and many others like him, and whether it was the aged man in the dock is by-the-by. Our judges on the trial bench — better than me — will be able to determine that issue.

For me, who mistakenly doubted the decision to prosecute him here, on our soil, the most profoundly remarkable thing to emerge since this Jerusalem trial began is the impact it has had on the *tsibkech* of

The Friday Dry Bones



the Holocaust generation. The sabras, Israel-born, grandchildren of the Holocaust survivors and witnesses are another generation, and yet the impact is traumatic.

Perhaps it's a matter of "there but for the grace of God go I" — if the Wehrmacht had invaded Palestine, or my old country, England, or if my own late parents, *landsleit* of that Ivan, of the Ukraine, had not managed, hair-raisingly, to bolt the

Ukraine surviving the pogroms before World War I, before the Revolution.

Because this trial in Jerusalem is what Israel is all about. Beyond the self-seeking politicking, the quickie demagoguery, the merchants of religion, the yecids, the strikes, the incestuous subsidized institutions, even beyond — on the other side — the super-jets, the military panache, and the eccentric defence of democracy

in a land "that consumeth its inhabitants."

It's what we here, and they there in the Diaspora, are all about. That this impossible, improbable, idiosyncratic, mighty and unsure, Israel is something bigger than us, the inhabitants *in situ* or the proxy potential ones elsewhere, we the witnesses and survivors.

The writer is Op-ed editor of The Jerusalem Post.

Chance to change WZO goals, priorities

Yosef Goell

CRISES breed opportunities. The temporary resolution of the crisis that seemed to portend an imminent split in the Jewish Agency with the announcement by chairman Arye Dulzin that he would not stand again for the chairmanship when the World Zionist Congress convenes again next winter, is just such an opportunity.

The demand for Dulzin's resignation was originally raised by representatives of the Diaspora fund-raising organizations in the agency's Board of Governors. But Dulzin's decision not to seek a third term as chairman — in effect giving in to the demand for his resignation — came when it became clear to him that dissatisfaction with his performance went far beyond the division between Zionists and Diaspora fund-raisers, and also stemmed from his loss of whatever political base he had in Israeli politics.

Dulzin's sorry performance as governor of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Zionist body which formally owns the controlling shares of Bank Leumi, in the context of the recent, forced resignation of the bank's management, would, by itself, not necessarily have given rise to insistent demands for his resignation. More important, Dulzin's eight-year tenure as chairman indicated that he was simply not capable of extricating the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency from the doldrums into which they had sunk.

In the narrow context of Israeli party politics, the impossibility of Dulzin's continuing as chairman stems from the fact that he took the gamble of breaking with the Liberal Party faction of the Likud, which had catapulted him into the chairmanship in 1978, after the Likud took over the government of Israel. He lost the gamble. In the intervening years, the Liberal Party has become a political phantom without a proven popular constituency, and it is doubtful that it could have successfully demanded continued possession of the Jewish Agency chairmanship following the next World Zionist Congress. But Dulzin's association with the group of breakaway Liberals, a political grouping that seems to have died at birth and could not even be credited with a phantom existence today, sealed his fate.

DULZIN, however, is only a small part of the problem. The real problem that has continued to plague the agency and the WZO since the

establishment of Israel in 1948 has been whether these organizations which had performed so remarkably in the half-century-long struggle for the building and establishment of a sovereign Jewish state, still had a raison d'être following the achievement of their central goal.

The World Zionist Organization, which was created 90 years ago at the first World Zionist Congress at Basle, always represented only a minority of world Jews. By 1929, it was expanded into the Jewish Agency for Palestine as a way of harnessing additional elements of world Jewry to the task of building the state-in-the-making and fighting for its international recognition.

Following the realization of the Zionist dream of sovereign statehood in 1948, a division of labour and responsibility was worked out between the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency. Throughout the 1950s the agency fulfilled extremely important functions in the absorption of the massive number of immigrants of that period and in establishing hundreds of new agricultural settlements throughout the

tween the Israeli Grade B politicians who dominate its executive and Diaspora fund-raisers, who themselves suffer from the disability of not representing any broad constituencies in their respective countries but merely speak in the name of the money their organizations raised from other Jews; and the entire Zionist-Jewish Agency conglomerate has come into profound disrepute in Israeli public opinion.

The large-scale waste and disorganization that characterized the attempts to get the admirable Project Renewal off the ground; the serious failures connected with the recent absorption of the relatively small *aliya* from Ethiopia; and the far-reaching failure to induce *aliya* from among the well-off Diaspora and from Jewish communities on the move, are all cases in point.

THERE ARE those who argue that it could not have been otherwise. They note that the Jewish Agency has for decades been showing all the sclerotic symptoms of large bureaucratic organizations, which, due to the successful attainment of

'The real problem that has plagued the agency and the WZO since 1948 has been whether they still had a raison d'être.'

country. During this period, however, the Zionist functions of the WZO, which was the agency's major constituent element, withered away and became more and more bereft of purpose. The real problems began when the major flood of immigration dried up and when Israel suffered a surfeit of agricultural settlement, two processes which came to a head in the late 1960s and early '70s. The agency still remained a major conduit for hundreds of millions of dollars annually in Diaspora contributions, but the uses of this money became less and less sharply defined.

It is in this period of loss of purpose that the temptation grew to use the funds channelled through the agency to finance a major part of political patronage by Israel's parties and to send a veritable army of politically appointed emissary-tourists to the Diaspora.

The local Israeli leadership of the agency has turned into a bush-league version of the Israeli party system; there has been growing friction be-

their central goals, have lost their lease on life, but whose leaderships and bureaucracies insist on hanging on for dear life. This view would have been far off the mark in Israel's first two decades, but can be put forward with much greater persuasiveness in the last two decades.

It has become clear that there is less and less of a need for a Jewish Agency for (Palestine) Israel, but a very great need for a world-wide organization of the Jewish people for the Jewish people. Forty years after its creation, there can be little doubt that Israel stands at the very centre of that part of the Jewish people that is concerned with the perpetuation of its Jewish identity.

But there are many Jewish tasks

and responsibilities that Israel itself cannot undertake and fulfil, and which must be borne by a world-wide Jewish organization working parallel to but separately from Israel and its political leadership. If the Jewish Agency did not exist, the

ones. The Diaspora fund-raisers who sit on the Jewish Agency's Board of Governors are certainly not properly representative of their respective communities. But popular elections in the Diaspora to the World Zionist Organization have

'But there are many Jewish tasks that Israel itself cannot undertake and which must be borne by a world-wide Jewish organization.'

real needs of the Jewish people would require that something like it be invented.

The main problem that should confront any such organization of the Jewish people today is the struggle for Jewish demographic and cultural survival. To be sure, world-wide Jewish support for Israel is still necessary. But Israel's survival would seem much more assured than that of world Jewry. It would be extremely easy to draw up a long list of Israeli institutional recipients of Jewish Agency budgetary largesse whose importance is far less than the funding of effective Jewish education throughout the Diaspora, for example, or of the harnessing of Israel's financially troubled educational institutions to a similar purpose.

The flap over Dulzin's resignation, which used the Bank Leumi scandal as a pretext, can nevertheless provide a timely opportunity for a rethinking of the purposes of such a Jewish Agency for the Jewish People and of the new priorities which should be given to the use of the hundreds of millions of dollars it controls. Ideally, the forthcoming World Zionist Congress should be prepared to consider turning itself into such a "World Congress of the Jewish People," which would address itself to the problems of that people, and not only of its Israeli component.

Many problems would have to be worked out. Meaningful representation of the people is one of the major

also become pretty much of a fiction, as are the reputed membership rolls of various constituent organization of the WZO.

The problem of representation from Israel is just as thorny. The system, whereby the various political party machines in Israel appoint their lower level politicians who haven't made it into the Knesset to top jobs in the agency, and then hand out administrative jobs which require professional expertise, as political plums, has itself been to blame for the very unsatisfactory level of Jewish Agency leadership.

Organizationally, there should be a rethinking of the purpose of a World Zionist Organization refocused into an organization of the Jewish people. It would mean dropping functions that have turned marginal or totally meaningless, and taking on new problems that have hitherto been woefully neglected.

The main point is the question of timing. The sorry state of the WZO and of the Jewish Agency have been obvious for a long time. The impending changing of the guard, which is now sure to come at the time of the next World Zionist Congress, would seem to present a natural opportunity and time frame for such rethinking and reordering of Jewish goals and priorities.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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